





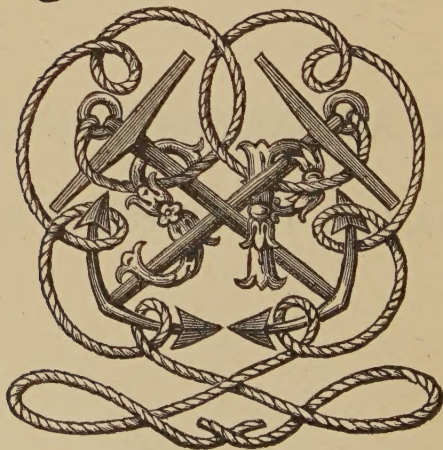






DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE OF  
SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ., F.R.S.

*cujusque is est*  
*Mens* *nisque*







Walker & Bouillart, P.A. S.

*Sir William Penn.  
from the Painting by Leby at Greenwich Hospital.*

DIARY AND  
CORRESPONDENCE

*of*

Samuel Pepys, Esq., F.R.S.

From His MS. Cypher in the  
Pepysian Library

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*With a Life and Notes by*

RICHARD LORD BRAYBROOKE

*Deciphered, with Additional Notes, by*

REV. MYNORS BRIGHT, M.A.

President and Senior Fellow of Magdalene  
College, Cambridge

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Quidquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas,  
Gaudia, discursus, nostri est farrago libelli.  
Et quando uberior vitiorum copia? quando  
Major, avaritiæ patuit sinus?

Juv. *Sat.* i. 85-88.

Corruption was universal. All offices were made subject of open traffic. Nothing could be done without a consideration, either, according to Forgard, received beforehand, as logice, a bribe, or after the good turn was done, as a gratification. . . . Such were "Good King Charles's golden days."

If, quitting the broad path of history, we seek for minute information concerning ancient manners and customs, the progress of arts and sciences, and the various branches of antiquity, we have never seen a mine so rich as the volumes before us. The variety of Pepys's tastes and pursuits led him into almost every department of life. He was a man of business; a man of information, if not of learning; a man of taste; a man of whim; and, to a certain degree, a man of pleasure. He was a statesman, a bel esprit, a virtuoso, and a connoisseur. His curiosity made him an unwearied as well as an universal learner, and whatever he saw found its way into his tables. Thus his diary absolutely resembles the genial cauldrons at the wedding of Comacho, a souse into which was sure to bring forth at once abundance and variety of whatever could gratify the most eccentric appetite. — *Quarterly Review*. . No. 66.

## PREFACE.

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READERS of Pepys's Diary will probably be interested in the following particulars respecting the cipher and the publication of the Diary.

"LORD GRENVILLE TO THE HON. AND REV. GEORGE NEVILLE, MASTER OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

DROPMORE, Aug. 28, 1818.

"MY DEAR GEORGE, — When my brother quitted us for the Isle of Wight, he left with me a MS. volume which you had put into his hands. I have a little smattering of the art of deciphering, and I was desirous to try my hand on this MS., which, if it could be made out, would, I was aware, on many accounts be extremely interesting; and would just now, if it could be published, form an excellent accompaniment to Evelyn's delightful Diary. I am glad to say that I have succeeded to the utmost of my expectations, or rather much beyond them. The character employed is a shorthand, not very different in principle from those in use now, or at least those which were in use when, as a law student, I practised shorthand. The writing is for the most part alphabetical (divided into words, which gives infinite facility for decipher-



ing), but generally leaving out the vowels, and there is a large collection of arbitrary signs for terminations, particles, and words of very frequent occurrence, and some, though not near so numerous, for longer and less frequent words. The alphabet I have entirely mastered; the second class of signs I have so in a great measure, and a considerable portion, though not nearly the whole, of the third, which, from the less frequency of its occurrence, is, of course, the more difficult to the decipherer.

“But, as it is, I could already furnish you with a transcript of the first three or four pages, with a few hiatuses, and those easily supplied (or, at least, for the most part so) by conjecture, which I have no doubt a farther progress in the MS. would soon turn into certainty. But, having got so far as to make the task (I am confident) quite easy to any person who would set himself *sturdily* to it, I am unwilling to go further, because I have done all that is really useful, and I find the poring over these minute characters, though amusing enough, does no good to my eyes.

“What I would recommend is, that on your return to Cambridge, which under the circumstances of this year must, I suppose, be in October, you should lose no time in finding out some man who, for the lucre of gain will sacrifice a few months to the labour of making a complete transcript of the whole, for which purpose I would furnish you with my alphabet and lists of arbitrary signs, and also with the transcript of the first three or four pages, and of some other passages taken casually here and there in the volume. I must not, I believe, see him to give him verbal instructions how to proceed further in deciphering the arbitrary marks, because it might not be right that he should know the MS. to have been in my posses-



sion. But any man of ordinary talent would, I am certain, by these helps, master the whole in the course of a week or ten days of steady application, provided his eyes are young and strong, and that he is willing to work them a little.

"I hope there is no restraint that would prevent you from publishing the whole when thus transcribed, and I am anxious that you should lose no time in setting about it, because it will be much best done under your own inspection this year, when you must of necessity be so much on the spot.<sup>1</sup> If published, there is no doubt that the work would amply repay the expense of the transcript, for which I suppose you will make a specific bargain beforehand, after a few days' experience shall have enabled your decipherer to judge of the nature of the work.

"But if publication be impossible, it would still be a great matter to have such a transcript in the College Library, and I would willingly bear my share in the cost of such a work, to which I am persuaded others would also readily contribute, and which, indeed, need not be large, as I can safely pronounce, judging by the little trouble which I have found in doing the most difficult part of the business. Let me know where and when I shall send the book and the alphabet, &c. If you could prevail upon yourself and Lady Charlotte to find this place between Wales and Cambridge, that would be best of all.

"If no one else can or will undertake it, a professed shorthand writer would dispatch your volume in a week; but I should in your place prefer a Cambridge man, to work under your eye.

"Ever yours,

"G."

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<sup>1</sup> As Vice-Chancellor.

With this assistance Mr. Smith (then an undergraduate of St. John's College, Cambridge) undertook the task of deciphering the whole of the "Diary" from the six closely-written volumes of the original shorthand MS. He commenced it in the spring of 1819, and completed it in April, 1822, having worked, as he says in a letter which was published in the "Illustrated London News," March 27, 1858, for nearly three years at it, usually for twelve and fourteen hours a day.

From this manuscript of Mr. Smith's, Lord Braybrooke published in 1826 the first edition, with notes, of Pepys's Diary. A reprint appeared in 1828. In 1848-9 Lord Braybrooke published an enlarged and revised edition, with additional notes, and in 1854 appeared the fourth edition, the last one "revised and corrected" by Lord Braybrooke.

In 1872 I learnt the cipher from a book in the Pepysian Library by *Shelton*, called "Tachy-graphy or short writing, the most easie, exact, and speedie." *This was the cipher used by Pepys.* There are copies of several editions of it still extant. A copy of an edition published in 1671, which I very much value, has lately been given me. With this help I have deciphered afresh the whole of the Diary.

There is also in the Pepysian Library the account

of Charles's escape, after the battle of Worcester, taken down in short-hand by Pepys from the King's own mouth, and written also by him in full.

When Pepys wished to keep anything *particularly concealed*, he wrote his cipher, generally in French, sometimes in Latin, or Greek, or Spanish. This gave me a great deal of trouble. Afterwards he changed his plan and put in *dummy* letters. I was quite puzzled at this, and was nearly giving up in despair the hope of finding out his device, but at last, by rejecting every other letter, I made out the words. It would have been better for Pepys's credit if these passages could not have been deciphered, as all of them are quite unfit for publication.

(M. B.)



## DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS.

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MARCH 1ST, 1660-61. After dinner Mr. Shepley and I in private talking about my Lord's intentions to go speedily into the country, but to what end we know not. We fear he is to go to sea with this fleet now preparing. But we wish that he could get his 4000*l.* per annum settled before he do go. To Whitefryars, and saw "The Bondman"<sup>1</sup> acted; an excellent play and well done. But above all that ever I saw, Betterton do the Bondman the best. Sat up late, spending my thoughts how to get money to bear me out in my great expense at the Coronacion, against which all provide, and scaffolds setting up in every street. I had many designs in my head to get some, but know not which will take.

2d. After dinner I went to the theatre, where I found so few people (which is strange, and the reason I did not know) that I went out again, and so to Salisbury Court, where the house as full as could be; and it seems it was a new play, "The Queen's Maske,"<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> By Massinger.

<sup>2</sup> "Love's Mistress, or The Queen's Masque," by T. Heywood.

wherein there are some good humours : among others, a good jeer to the old story of the Siege of Troy, making it to be a common country tale. But above all it was strange to see so little a boy as that was to act Cupid, which is one of the greatest parts in it.

3rd (Lord's day). Mr. Woodcocke<sup>1</sup> preached at our church a very good sermon upon the imaginacions of the thoughts of man's heart being only evil. In the Abby all the afternoon. So to my Lord's, who come in late and tells us how news is come to-day of Mazarin's<sup>2</sup> being dead, which is very great news and of great consequence. I lay to-night with Mr. Shepley here, because of my Lord's going to-morrow.

4th. My Lord went this morning on his journey to Hinchingbroke, Mr. Parker with him ; the chief business being to look over and determine how, and in what manner, his great work of building shall be done. Before his going he did give me some jewells to keep for him, viz., that that the King of Sweden did give him, with the King's own picture in it, most excellently done ; and a brave George, all of diamonds, and this with the greatest expressions of love and confidence that I could imagine or hope for, which is a very great joy to me.

5th. I to the office, where Sir Williams both and I

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Woodcock, afterwards ejected from St. Andrew's, Undershaft.

<sup>2</sup> *Cardinal Mazarin*, after the death of Richelieu Prime Minister of Louis XIII., and continued in that office during the minority of Louis XIV. and the regency of Anne of Austria. He was afterwards obliged to leave the kingdom, but was restored to power, and died 27th February, 1660-61, aged 59. (M. B.)

set about making an estimate of all the officers' salaries in ordinary in the Navy till 10 o'clock at night. So home, and I with my head full of thoughts how to get a little present money, I eat a bit of bread and cheese, and so to bed.

6th. At the office all the morning. At dinner Sir W. Batten came and took me and my wife to his house to dinner, my Lady being in the country, where we had a good Lenten dinner. After that home, thinking to have had Sir W. Batten, &c., to have eat a wigg<sup>1</sup> at my house at night. But my Lady being come home out of the country ill by reason of much rain that has fallen lately, and the waters being very high, we could not, and so I home and to bed.

7th. Met Spicer and a company more of my old acquaintance, and went into a place to drink some ale, and there we staid playing the fool till late, and so I home. At home met with ill news that my hopes of getting some money for the Charles were spoiled through Mr. Waith's perverseness, which did so vex me that I could not sleep at night. But I wrote a letter to him for him to take my money for me, and so with good words I thought to coy with him. To bed.

8th. All the morning at the office. At noon Sir W. Batten, Col. Slingsby and I by coach to the Tower, to Sir John Robinson's,<sup>2</sup> to dinner; where great good

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<sup>1</sup> *Wigg*, a kind of north country bun or tea-cake, still so called, to my knowledge, in Staffordshire. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant of that fortress.

cheer. High company ; among others the Duchesse of Albemarle,<sup>1</sup> who is ever a plain homely dowdy. After dinner, to drink all the afternoon. Towards night the Duchesse and ladies went away. Then we set to it again till it was very late. And at last came in Sir William Wale,<sup>2</sup> almost fuddled ; and because I was set between him and another, only to keep them from talking and spoiling the company (as we did to others), he fell out with the Lieutenant of the Tower ; but with much ado we made him understand his error, and then all quiet. I was much contented to ride in such state into the Tower, and be received among such high company, while Mr. Mount, my Lady Duchess's gentleman usher, stood waiting at table, whom I ever thought a man so much above me in all respects ; also to hear the discourse of so many high Cavaliers of things past. It was a great content and joy to me.

9th. To my Lord's, where we found him lately come from Hinchinbroke. I staid and dined with him. He took me aside, and asked me what the world spoke of the King's marriage. Which I answering as one that knew nothing, he enquired no further of me. But I do perceive by it that there is something in it that is ready to come out that the world knows not of yet.

10th (Lord's day). Heard Mr. Mills in the morning, a good sermon. Dined at home on a poor Lenten

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<sup>1</sup> See Feb. 12, 1659-60, note.

<sup>2</sup> Alderman and Colonel of the red regiment of Trainbands.



dinner of coleworts and bacon. In the afternoon again to church, and there heard one Castle, whom I knew of my year at Cambridge. He made a dull sermon.

11th. After dinner I went to the theatre, and there saw "Love's Mistress" done by them, which I do not like in some things as well as their acting in Salisbury Court. At night home and found my wife come home, and she hath got her teeth new done by La Roche, and are indeed now pretty handsome, and I was much pleased with it.

12th. To Guildhall, and there set my hand to the book before Colonel King for my sea pay, and blessed be God! they have cast me at midshipman's pay, which do make my heart very glad. So home, and there had Sir W. Batten and my Lady and all their company to a collacion at my house till it was late, and so to bed.

13th. Early up in the morning to read "The Seaman's Grammar and Dictionary" I lately have got, which do please me exceeding well.

14th. Dined with my Lord and Lady, and so with Mr. Creed to the Theatre, and there saw "King and no King,"<sup>1</sup> well acted. Thence with him to the Cock ale house at Temple Bar.

15th. This day my wife and Pall went to see my Lady Kingston, her brother's<sup>2</sup> lady.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> By Beaumont and Fletcher.

<sup>2</sup> Balthazar St. Michel is the only brother of Mrs. Pepys mentioned in the Diary.

<sup>3</sup> This lady has not been identified.

16th. To Whitefryers and saw "The Spanish Curate,"<sup>1</sup> in which I had no great content. So home and was very much troubled that Will. staid out late, and went to bed early, intending not to let him come in, but by and by he comes and I did let him in, and he did tell me that he was at Guildhall helping to pay off the seamen, and cast the books late. Which since I found to be true.

17th (Lord's day). At church in the morning, a stranger preached a good honest and painfull<sup>2</sup> sermon. My wife and I dined upon a chine of beef at Sir W. Batten's, so to church again. Then to supper at Sir W. Batten's again, where my wife by chance fell down and hurt her knees exceedingly.

18th. This morning early Sir W. Batten went to Rochester, where he expects to be chosen Parliament man. This day an ambassador from Florence was brought into the towne in state. Yesterday was said to be the day that the Princesse Henrietta was to marry the Duke d'Anjou<sup>3</sup> in France. This day I found in the newes-booke that Roger Pepys is chosen

<sup>1</sup> A comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

<sup>2</sup> "Painful" is now feeling pain or inflicting it; it was once taking pains. Many things would not be so "painful," in the present sense of the word, if they had been more "painful" in the earlier, as perhaps some sermons.

"Within fourteen generations, the royal blood of the kings of Judah ran in the veins of plain Joseph, a *painful* carpenter."—FULLER, *The Holy War*, book v. chap. 29.

"O the holiness of their living, and *painfulness* of their preaching."—Id., *The Holy State*, book ii. chap. 6. TRENCH'S *Select Glossary*. (M. B.)

<sup>3</sup> Who soon afterwards took the title of Orleans.

at Cambridge for the towne, the first place that we hear of to have made their choice yet.

19th. We met at the office this morning about some particular business, and then Mr. Creed and I to White-Fryars, where we saw "The Bondman" acted most excellently, and though I have seen it often, yet I am every time more and more pleased with Betterton's action.

20th. To White Hall to Mr. Coventry, where I did some business with him, and so with Sir W. Pen (who I found with Mr. Coventry teaching of him the map to understand Jamaica). The great talk of the towne is the strange election that the City of London made yesterday for Parliament-men ; viz. Fowke, Love, Jones, and . . . . .,<sup>1</sup> men that are so far from being episcopall that they are thought to be Anabaptists ; and chosen with a great deal of zeale, in spite of the other party that thought themselves very strong, calling out in the Hall, "No Bishops ! no Lord Bishops !" It do make people to fear it may come to worse, by being an example to the country to do the same. And indeed the Bishops are so high, that very few do love them.

21st. Up very early, and to work and study in my chamber, and then to Whitehall, and at noon dined with my Lord, who was very merry, and after dinner we sang and fiddled a great deal. This day I saw the Florence Ambassador go to his audience, the

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<sup>1</sup> Sir W. Thompson was the fourth member.

weather very foule, and yet he and his company very gallant.

22nd. About eight I got a horse-back, and my Lady and her two daughters, and Sir W. Pen into coach, and so over London Bridge, and thence to Dartford. The day very pleasant, though the way bad. Here we met with Sir W. Batten, and some company along with him, who had assisted him in his election at Rochester; and so we dined and were very merry. At 5 o'clock we set out again in a coach home, and were very merry all the way. At Deptford we met with Mr. Newborne, and some other friends and their wives in a coach to meet us, and so they went home with us, and at Sir W. Batten's we supped, and thence to bed, my head akeing<sup>1</sup> mightily through the wine that I drank to-day.

23d. To the Red Bull<sup>2</sup> (where I had not been since plays come up again) up to the tireing-room, where strange the confusion and disorder that there is among them in fitting themselves, especially here, where the clothes are very poore, and the actors but common fellows. At last into the pitt, where I think there was not above ten more than myself, and not

<sup>1</sup> So Pepys invariably writes the word in full, it is hardly ever written in cipher. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> The Red Bull was in St. John's Street, Clerkenwell; but of an inferior rank to the Globe and Blackfriars Theatres, and is described as

——— "that degenerate stage,  
Where none of the unturn'd kennel can rehearse  
A line of serious sense."

one hundred in the whole house. And the play, which is called "All's lost by Lust,"<sup>1</sup> poorly done; and with so much disorder, among others, that in the musique-room the boy that was to sing a song, not singing it right, his master fell about his eares and beat him so, that it put the whole house in an uprore. Thence homewards, and at the Mitre met my uncle Wight, and with him Lieut.-Col. Baron,<sup>2</sup> who told us how Crofton,<sup>3</sup> the great Presbyterian minister that had lately preached so highly against Bishops, is clapped up this day into the Tower. Which do please some, and displease others exceedingly.

24th (Lord's day). My wife and I to church, and then home with Sir W. Batten and my Lady to dinner, where very merry, and then to church again, where Mr. Mills made a good sermon.

25th (Lady day). This morning came workmen to begin the making of me a new pair of stairs up out of my parler, which, with other work that I have to do, I doubt will keep me this two months and so long I shall be all in dirt; but the work do please me very well. After dinner comes Mr. Salisbury to see me, and shewed me a face or two of his paynting, and

<sup>1</sup> A Tragedy, by W. Rowley.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Argal Baron, of Croydon, Lieutenant-Governor of Windsor Castle, and said to have been a distinguished Royalist.

<sup>3</sup> Zachary Crofton, ejected from the curacy of St. Botolph's, Aldgate, for non-conformity. He was a native of Ireland; and, according to Baxter, a quick and warm, but upright man. He was set at liberty after a long confinement, and again imprisoned in Cheshire; and, at length, returning to London, kept a school in Aldgate parish till his death.

indeed I perceive that he will be a great master. I took him to Whitehall with me by water, but he would not by any means be moved to go through bridge, and so we were fain to go round by the Old Swan. To my Lord's and there I shewed him the King's picture, which he intends to copy out in little. After that I and Captain Ferrers to Salisbury Court by water, and saw part of the "Queene's Maske." Then I to Mrs. Turner, The: Turner being in a great chafe, about being disappointed of a room to stand in at the Coronacion. So homewards and took up a boy that had a lanthorne, that was picking up of rags, and got him to light me home, and had great discourse with him how he could get sometimes three or four bushells of rags in a day, and got 3*d*. a bushell for them, and many other discourses, what and how many ways there are for poor children to get their livings honestly.

26th. Up early to do business in my study. This is my great day that three years ago I was cut of the stone, and, blessed be God, I do yet find myself very free from pain again. To my father's, where Mrs. Turner, The., Joyce, Mr. Morrice, Mr. Armiger, Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, and his wife, my father and mother, and myself and my wife. Very merry at dinner; among other things, because Mrs. Turner and her company eat no flesh at all this Lent, and I had a great deal of good flesh which made their mouths water. I and my wife to Salisbury Court, and sat in the pitt, and saw "The Bondman" done to admiration.

27th. Up early. My brother Tom comes to me, and I looked over my old clothes and did give him a suit of black stuff clothes and a hat and some shoes. At the office all the morning, where Sir G. Carteret comes, and there I did get him to promise me some money upon a bill of exchange, whereby I shall secure myself of 60*l*. At noon I found my stairs quite broke down, that I could not get up but by a ladder. To the Dolphin to a dinner of Mr. Harris's, where Sir Williams both and my Lady Batten,<sup>1</sup> and her two daughters, and other company, where a great deal of mirth, and there staid till 11 o'clock at night; and in our mirth I sang and sometimes fiddled (there being a noise<sup>2</sup> of fiddlers there), and at last we fell to dancing, the first time that ever I did in my life, which I did wonder to see myself to do. At last we made Mingo, Sir W. Batten's black, and Jack, Sir W. Pen's, dance, and it was strange how the first did dance with a great deal of seeming skill.

28th. I went to Sir Robert Slingsby (he being newly maister of that title by being made a Baronett)

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, Nov. 26, 1660.

<sup>2</sup> *Noise*, a set or company of musicians, usually of three, named from the chief performer.

Shakespeare: "And see if thou canst find Sneak's *noise*; Mistress Tear-sheet would fain hear some music." 2 *Henry IV.*, act ii. sc. 4.

Ben Jonson: "The king has his *noise* of gypsies, as well as of bearwards and other minstrels." *Masque of Gypsies*, vol. vi. p. 102.

In the sense of a concert. See Psalm xlvii. 5. "God is gone up with a *merry noise*, and the Lord with the sound of a trump."

So *noised*, played or accompanied with music. (M. B.)

See May 7, 1660, note.

to discourse about Mr. Creed's accounts to be made up, and from thence by coach to my cozen Thomas Pepys, to borrow 1000*l.* for my Lord. Then with Mr. Shepley to the Theatre and saw "Rollo" <sup>1</sup> ill acted. That done to drink a cup of ale and so home, where I found a great deal of work done to-day, and also 70*l.* paid me, so that, my heart in great content, I went to bed.

29th. To the office, where I found Sir W. Pen sent down yesterday to Chatham to get two great ships in readiness presently <sup>2</sup> to go to the East Indies upon some design against the Dutch, we think, at Goa, but it is a great secret yet.

30th. At the office we and Sir W. Rider to advise what sort of provisions to get ready for these ships going to the Indies.

31st (Sunday). At church, where a stranger preached like a fool. Dined with my wife, she staying at home, being unwilling to dress herself, the house being all dirty. To church again, and after sermon I walked to my father's, and to Mr. Turner's, where I could not woo The. to give me a lesson upon the harpsicon, and was angry at it. So home and finding Will abroad at Sir W. Batten's talking with the people there (Sir W. and my Lady being in the

<sup>1</sup> "Rollo, Duke of Normandy," by John Fletcher.

<sup>2</sup> *Presently*, immediately. Shakespeare —

"Therefore, I pray you, stand not to discourse,  
But mount you *presently*."

*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, act v. sc. i. (M. B.)



country), I took occasion to be angry with him, and so to prayers and to bed.

April 1st. This day my waiting at the Privy Seale comes in again. To Whitefryars, and there saw part of "Rule a wife and have a wife,"<sup>1</sup> which I never saw before, but do not like it. So to my father, and there finding a discontent between my father and mother about the mayde (which my father likes and my mother dislikes), I staid till 10 at night, persuading my mother to understand herself, and that in some high words, which I was sorry for, but she is grown, poor woman, very froward. So leaving them in the same discontent I went away home, it being a brave moonshine, and to bed.

2d. To St. James's Park, where I saw the Duke of York playing at Pelemele,<sup>2</sup> the first time that ever I saw the sport. Then to my Lord's, where I dined with my Lady, and after we had dined in comes my Lord and Ned Pickering hungry, and there was not a bit of meat left in the house, the servants having eat up all, at which my Lord was very angry, and at last

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<sup>1</sup> By John Fletcher.

<sup>2</sup> "A Pele Mele was made at the further end of St. James's Park, which was made for His Majesty to play, being a very princely play." — RUGGE. It is derived from *paille maille*, French; at which word Cotgrave thus describes the game: — "A game, wherein a round box bowle is with a mallet struck through a high arch of iron (standing, at either end of an alley, one), which he that can do at the fewest blows, or at the number agreed on, wins." In France, it was the common appellation of those places where the game was practised. "As soon as the weather and my leisure permit, you shall have the account you desire of our *Paille-Mailles*, which are now only three, — viz., the Thuilleries, the Palais Royal, and the Arsenal." — *Letter of Sir Richard Browne*, Addit. MSS. No. 15,857, fol. 149, in British Museum.

got something dressed. Then to the Privy Seale, and so to White-fryars and saw "The Little Thiefe,"<sup>1</sup> which is a very merry and pretty play, and the little boy do very well. Then to the Dolphin to Sir W. Batten, and Pen, and other company; among others Mr. Delabar; where strange how these men, who at other times are all wise men, do now, in their drink, betwitt<sup>2</sup> and reproach one another with their former conditions, and their actions as in public concerns, till I was ashamed to see it.

3rd. Up among my workmen, my head akeing all day from last night's debauch. To the office all the morning, and at noon dined with Sir W. Batten and Pen, who would needs have me drink two drafts of sack to-day to cure me of last night's disease,<sup>3</sup> which I thought strange but I think find it true. I hear that the Dutch have sent the King a great present of money, which we think will stop the match with Portugal; and judge this to be the reason that our so great haste in sending the two ships to the East Indys is also stayed.

4th. After dinner I went into my Lord and there we had a great deal of musique, and then came my cozen Tom Pepys and there did accept of the security which we gave him for his 1000*l.* that we borrow of him, and so the money to be paid next week.

5th. Up among my workmen and so to the office,

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<sup>1</sup> "Night Walker, or Little Thief," by John Fletcher and James Shirley.

<sup>2</sup> To upbraid.

<sup>3</sup> Hence the proverb, "Take a hair of the dog that bit you."

and then to Sir W. Pen's with the other Sir William and Sir John Lawson to dinner, and after that, with them to Mr. Lucy's, a merchant, where much good company, and there drank a great deal of wine, and in discourse fell to talk of the weight of people, which did occasion some wagers, and where, among others, I won half a piece to be spent. Then home, and at night to Sir W. Batten's, and there very merry with a good barrell of oysters, and this is the present life I lead. Home and to bed.

6th. To Whitehall, and there at Privy Seale and elsewhere did business, and among other things met with Mr. Townsend, who told of his mistake the other day, to put both his legs through one of his knees of his breeches, and went so all day. Then with Mr. Creed and Moore to the Leg in the Palace to dinner which I gave them, and after dinner I saw the girle of the house, being very pretty, go into a chamber, and I went in after her and kissed her. Then by water, Creed and I, to Salisbury Court and there saw "Love's Quarrell" acted the first time, but I do not like the design or words.

7th (Lord's day). All the morning at home, making up my accounts (God forgive me!) to give up to my Lord this afternoon. Then put in at Paul's, where I saw our minister, Mr. Mills, preaching before my Lord Mayor. So to White Hall, and there I met with Dr. Fuller<sup>1</sup> of Twickenham, newly come from Ire-

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<sup>1</sup> William Fuller, of Magdalene Hall, Oxford, was a schoolmaster at Twickenham during the Rebellion; and at the Restoration became Dean of

land ; and took him to my Lord's, where he and I dined ; and he did give my Lord and me a good account of the condition of Ireland, and how it come to pass, through the joyning of the Fanatiques and the Presbyterians, that the latter and the former are in their declaration put together under the names of Fanatiques. After dinner, my Lord and I and Mr. Shepley did look over our accounts and settle matters of money between us ; and my Lord did tell me much of his mind about getting money and other things of his family, &c.

8th. Up early, my Lady Batten knocking at her door that comes into one of my chambers. I did give directions to my people and workmen, and so about 8 o'clock we took barge at the Tower, Sir William Batten and his lady, Mrs. Turner, Mr. Fowler and I. A very pleasant passage and so to Gravesend, where we dined, and from thence a coach took them and me, and Mr. Fowler with some others came from Rochester to meet us, on horseback. At Rochester, where alight at Mr. Alcock's and there drank and had good sport, with his bringing out so many sorts of cheese. Then to the Hill-house at Chatham, where I never was before, and I found a pretty pleasant house and am pleased with the armes that hang up there. Here we supped very merry, and late to bed ; Sir William telling me that old Edgeborrow, his predecessor, did die and walk in my chamber, did make

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St. Patrick's ; and in 1663, Bishop of Limerick ; and in 1667 was translated to Lincoln. Ob. 1675.

me somewhat afeard, but not so much as for mirth's sake I did seem. So to bed in the treasurer's chamber.

9th. And lay and slept well till 3 in the morning, and then waking, and by the light of the moon I saw my pillow (which overnight I flung from me) stand upright, but not bethinking myself what it might be, I was a little afeard, but sleep overcame all and so lay till high morning, at which time I had a candle brought me and a good fire made, and in general it was a great pleasure all the time I staid here to see how I am respected and honoured by all people; and I find that I begin to know now how to receive so much reverence, which at the beginning I could not tell how to do. Sir William and I by coach to the docke and there viewed all the storehouses and the old goods that are this day to be sold, which was great pleasure to me, and so back again by coach home, where we had a good dinner, and among other strangers that come, there was Mr. Hempson and his wife, a pretty woman, and speaks Latin; Mr. Allen and two daughters of his, both very tall and the youngest<sup>1</sup> very handsome, so much as I could not forbear to love her exceedingly, having, among other things, the best hand that ever I saw. After dinner, we went to fit books and things (Tom Hater being this morning come to us) for the sale, by an inch of candle, and very good sport we and the ladies that stood by had, to see the people bid. Among other things sold

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<sup>1</sup> Rebecca, who afterwards married Lieutenant Jewkes. See "Diary," 1st April, 1667.

there was all the State's armes,<sup>1</sup> which Sir W. Batten bought; intending to set up some of the images in his garden, and the rest to burn on the Coronacion night. The sale being done, the ladies and I and Captain Pett and Mr. Castle took barge and down we went to see the Sovereigne, which we did, taking great pleasure therein, singing all the way, and, among other pleasures I put my Lady, Mrs. Turner, Mrs. Hempson, and the two Mrs. Allens into the lanthorn and I went in and kissed them, demanding it as a fee due to a principall officer, with all which we were exceeding merry, and drunk some bottles of wine and neat's tongue, &c. Then back again home and so supped, and after much mirth to-bed.

10th. In the morning to see the Dockhouses. First, Mr. Pett's, the builder, and there was very kindly received, and among other things he did offer my Lady Batten a parrot, the best I ever saw, that knew Mingo so soon as it saw him, having been bred formerly in the house with them; but for talking and singing I never heard the like. My Lady did accept of it. Then to see Commissioner Pett's house, he and his family being absent, and here I wondered how my Lady Batten walked up and down with envious looks to see how neat and rich everything is (and indeed both the house and garden is most handsome), saying that she would get it, for it belonged formerly to the Surveyor of the Navy. Then on

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<sup>1</sup> *i. e.*, Coats of arms.

board the Prince, now in the docke, and indeed it has one and no more rich cabins for carved work, but no gold in her. After that back home, and there eat a little dinner. Then to Rochester, and there saw the Cathedrall, which is now fitting for use, and the organ then a-tuning. Then away thence, observing the great doors of the church, which, they say, was covered with the skins of the Danes,<sup>1</sup> and also had much mirth at a tomb, on which was "Come sweet Jesu," and I read "Come sweet Mall," &c., at which Captain Pett and I had much laughter. So to the Salutacione taverne, where Mr. Alcock and many of the towne came and entertained us with wine and

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<sup>1</sup> Traditions similar to that at Rochester, here alluded to, are to be found in other places in England. Sir Harry Englefield, in a communication made to the Society of Antiquaries, July 2, 1789, called their attention to the curious popular tale preserved in the village of Hadstock, Essex, that the door of the church had been covered with the skin of a Danish pirate, who had plundered the church. At Copford, in the same county, Sir Harry remarked that an exactly similar tradition existed. At Worcester, likewise, it was asserted that the north doors of the cathedral had been covered with the skin of a person who had sacrilegiously robbed the high altar. The doors have been renewed, but the original woodwork remains in the crypt, and portions of skin may still be seen under the ironwork, with which the doors are clamped. The date of these doors appears to be the latter part of the fourteenth century, the north porch having been built about 1385. Portions of this supposed human skin, from each of the three places above mentioned, have recently been obtained, and submitted to one of our most skilful comparative anatomists, Mr. John Quequett, the Curator of the Museum of the College of Surgeons, who, by the aid of a powerful microscope, has ascertained, beyond question, that in each of the three cases the skin is human; and that, in the instance of Hadstock, it was the skin of a fair-haired person, — a fact consistent with the tale of its Danish origin. A portion of the Worcester skin is to be found in the collection of Worcestershire curiosities, bequeathed by Dr. Prattinton to the Society of Antiquaries. — *Communicated by Albert Way, Esq., F.S.A.* See also the Appendix for further particulars.

oysters and other things, and hither come Sir John Minnes to us, who is come to-day to see "the Henery," in which he intends to ride as Vice-Admiral in narrow seas all this summer. Here much mirth, but I was a little troubled to stay too long, because of going to Hempson's, which afterwards we did, and found it in all things a most pretty house, and rarely furnished, only it had a most ill accesse on all sides to it, which is a greatest fault that I think can be in a house. Here we had, for my sake, two fiddles, the one a base viall, on which he that played, played well some lyra lessons, but both together made the worst musique that ever I heard. We had a fine collacion, but I took little pleasure in that, for the illness of the musique and for the intentnesse of my mind upon Mrs. Rebecca Allen. After we had done eating, the ladies went to dance, and among the men we had, I was forced to dance too ; and did make an ugly shift. Mrs. R. Allen danced very well, and seems the best humoured woman that ever I saw. About 9 o'clock Sir William and my Lady went home, and we continued dancing an houre or two, and so broke up very pleasant and merry, and so walked home, I leading Mrs. Rebecca, who seemed, I know not why, in that and other things, to be desirous of my favours and would in all things show me respects. Going home, she would needs have me sing, and I did pretty well and was highly esteemed by them. So to Captain Allen's (where we were last night, and heard him play on the harpsicon, and I find him to be a perfect good



musician), and there, having no mind to leave Mrs. Rebecca, what with talk and singing (her father and I), Mrs. Turner and I staid there till 2 o'clock in the morning and was most exceeding merry, and I had the opportunity of kissing Mrs. Rebecca very often.

11th. At 2 o'clock, with very great mirth, we went to our lodging and to bed, and lay till 7, and then called up by Sir W. Batten, so I arose and we did some business, and then came Captn. Allen, and he and I withdrew and sang a song or two, and among others took pleasure in "Goe and bee hanged, that's good-bye." The young ladies come too, and so I did again please myself with Mrs. Rebecca, and about 9 o'clock, after we had breakfasted, we sett forth for London, and indeed I was a little troubled to part with Mrs. Rebecca, for which God forgive me. Thus we went away through Rochester. We baited at Dartford, and thence to London, but of all the journeys that ever I made this was the merriest, and I was in a strange moode for mirth. Among other things, I got my Lady to let her mayde, Mrs. Anne, to ride all the way on horseback, and she rides exceeding well; and so I called her my clerk, that she went to wait upon me. I met two little schoolboys going with pitchers of ale to their schoolmaster to break up against Easter, and I did drink of some of one of them and give him two pence. By and by we come to two little girles keeping cows, and I saw one of them very pretty, so I had a mind to make her aske my blessing, and telling her that I was her godfather, she asked me

innocently whether I was not Ned Wooding, and I said that I was, so she kneeled down and very simply called, "Pray, godfather, pray to God to bless me," which made us very merry, and I gave her twopence. In several places, I asked women whether they would sell me their children, but they denied me all, but said they would give me one to keep for them, if I would. Mrs. Anne and I rode under the man that hangs upon Shooter's Hill, and a filthy sight it was to see how his flesh is shrunk to his bones. So home and I found all well, and a deal of work done since I went. I sent to see how my wife do, who is well. So to Sir W. Batten's and there supped, and very merry with the young ladies. So to bed very sleepy for last night's work, concluding that it is the pleasantest journey in all respects that ever I had in my life.

12th. Up among my workmen. Dined with Sir W. Batten, all fish dinner, it being Good Friday. Then into the City and saw in what forwardness all things are for the Coronacion, which will be very magnificent. Then back again home and to my chamber, to set down in my diary all my late journey, which I do with great pleasure; and while I am now writing comes one with a tickett to invite me to Captain Robert Blake's buriall, for whose death I am very sorry, and do much wonder at it, he being a little while since a very likely man to live as any I knew. Since my going out of town, there is one Alexander Rosse taken and sent to the Counter by Sir Thomas Allen, for counterfeiting my hand to a ticket, and we this day at

the office have given order to Mr. Smith to prosecute him.

13th. To Whitehall by water from Towre-wharfe, where we could not pass the ordinary way, because they were mending of the great stone steps against the Coronacion. Met my Lord with the Duke; and after a little talk with him, I went to the Banquet-house, and there saw the King heale, the first time that ever I saw him do it; which he did with great gravity, and it seemed to me to be an ugly office and a simple one. To the buriall of Captain Robert Blake, at Wapping, and there had each of us a ring, but it being dirty, we would not go to church with them, but with our coach we returned, and then Sir W. Pen and I alone to the Dolphin (Sir W. Batten being this day gone with his wife to Walthamstow to keep Easter), and there had a supper by ourselves, we both being very hungry, and staying there late drinking I became very sleepy, and so we went home and to bed.

14th (Easter. Lord's day). In the morning heard Mr. Jacomb,<sup>1</sup> at Ludgate, upon these words, "Christ loved you and therefore let us love one another," and

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Jacomb, of Burton Lazars, Leicestershire, entered at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1640; but removing to Cambridge on the breaking out of the Rebellion, he obtained a Fellowship at Trinity College, in the place of a loyalist ejected, and had the degree of M. A. conferred on him. He afterwards became rector of St. Martin's-infra-Ludgate, in London; and was put out for nonconformity in 1662, being then D.D. He subsequently followed the trade of conventicling, which brought him into trouble; and he died March 27, 1687, in the house of the Countess of Exeter, to whom he was domestic chaplain. — Abridged from KENNETT'S *Register*.

made a gracy sermon, like a Presbyterian. After dinner I went to the Temple and there heard Dr. Griffith,<sup>1</sup> a good sermon for the day; so with Mr. Moore (whom I met there) to my Lord's, and there he shewed me a copy of my Lord Chancellor's patent for Earle, and I read the preamble, which is very short, modest, and good. Here my Lord saw us and spoke to me about getting Mr. Moore to come and governe his house while he goes to sea, which I promised him to do and did afterwards speak to Mr. Moore, and he is willing. Then hearing that Mr. Barnwell was come, with some of my Lord's little children, yesterday to town, to see the Coronacion, I went and found them at the Goate, at Charing Cross, and there I went and drank with them a good while, whom I found in very good health and very merry. Then to my father's, and after supper seemed willing to go home, and my wife seeming to be so too I went away in a discontent, but she, poor wretch, followed me as far in the rain and dark as Fleet Bridge to fetch me back again, and so I did.

15th. From my father's, it being a very foule morning for the King and Lords to go to Windsor, I went to the office and there met Mr. Coventry and Sir Robt. Slingsby. Mr. Coventry being gone, and I having at home laid up 200*l*. which I had brought this morning home from Alderman Backwell's, I went

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<sup>1</sup> Matthew Griffith, D.D., rector of St. Mary Magdalene, Old Fish Street, and preacher at the Temple. He was an Episcopalian, and author of several printed sermons. He died in 1665.

home by coach with Sir R. Slingsby and dined with him, and had a very good dinner. His lady<sup>1</sup> seems a good woman and very desirous they were to hear this noon by the post how the election has gone at Newcastle, wherein he is concerned, but the letters are not come yet.

16th. So soon as word was brought me that Mr. Coventry was come with the barge to the Towre, I went to him, and found him reading of the Psalms in short hand (which he is now busy about), and had good sport about the long marks that are made there for sentences in divinity, which he is never like to make use of. Here he and I sat till the Comptroller came and then we put off for Deptford, where we went on board the King's pleasure boat that Commissioner Pett is making, and indeed it will be a most pretty thing. From thence to Commr. Pett's lodging, and there had a good breakfast, and in came the two Sir Wms. from Walthamstow, and so we sat down and did a great deal of public business about the fitting of the fleet that is now going out. That done we went to the Globe and there had a good dinner, and by and by took barge again and so home. By the way they would have me sing, which I did to Mr. Coventry.

17th. By land and saw the arches,<sup>2</sup> which are now

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<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Radclyffe, of Dilston, Northumberland, and widow of Sir William Fenwick, Bart., of Meldon Sir R. Slingsby's first wife was Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Robert Brooke, of Newcells

<sup>2</sup> Erecting in honour of the Coronation.

almost done and are very fine, and I saw the picture of the ships and other things this morning, set up before the East Indy House, which are well done. Then comes Mr. Allen of Chatham, and I took him to the Mitre and there did drink with him, and did get of him the song that pleased me so well there the other day, "Of Shitten come Shites the beginning of love." His daughters are to come to towne to-morrow, but I know not whether I shall see them or no. That done I went to the Dolphin by appointment and there I met Sir Wms. both and Mr. Castle, and did eat a barrel of oysters and two lobsters, which I did give them, and were very merry. Here we had much talk of Mr. Warren's being knighted<sup>1</sup> by the King, and Sir W. B. seemed to be very much incensed against him.

18th. Up with my workmen and then about 9 o'clock took horse with both the Sir Williams for Walthamstow, and there we found my Lady and her daughters all; and a pleasant day it was, and all things else, but that my Lady was in a bad moode, which we were troubled at, and had she been noble she would not have been so with her servants, when we came thither, and this Sir W. Pen took notice of, as well as I. After dinner we all went to the Church stile,<sup>2</sup> and there eat and drank, and I was as merry as

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<sup>1</sup> Knighted the following year (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> In an old book of accounts belonging to Warrington Parish, the following minute occurs: — "Nov 5, 1688 Payd for drink at the *Church-Steele*, 13s.:" and in 1732, "it is ordered that hereafter no money be spent on y<sup>e</sup> 5th

I could counterfeit myself to be. Then, it raining hard, homewards again and in our way met with two country fellows upon one horse, which I did, without much ado, give the way to, but Sir W. Pen would not, but struck them and they him, and so passed away, but they, giving him some high words, he went back again and struck them off their horse, in a simple fury, and without much honour, in my mind, and so came away.

19th. Among my workmen and then to the office, it being so foule that I could not go to Whitehall to see the Knights of the Bath made to-day, which do trouble me mightily.

20th. Comes my boy to tell me that the Duke of York had sent for all the principall officers, &c., to come to him to-day. So I went by water to Mr. Coventry's, and there staid and talked a good while with him till all the rest come. We went up and saw the Duke dress himself, and in his night habitt he is a very plain man.<sup>1</sup> Then he sent us to his closett, where we saw among other things two very fine chests, covered with gold and Indian varnish, given him by the East Indy Company of Holland. The Duke comes; and after he had told us that the fleet was designed for Algier (which was kept from us till

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of November, or on any other *state* day, on the parish account, either at the *Church-Stile*, or at any other place"—*Gent. Mag.*, Nov. 1852, p 442. Thus the original reading is confirmed, for it had been suggested in the "*Gent Mag.*" that this should be *Church ale*.

<sup>1</sup> "No man is a hero to his *valet-de-chambre*," a saying of the Prince de Condé.



now), we did advise about many things as to the fitting of the fleet, and so we went away. After that to my Lord's, where Sir W. Pen came to me, and dined with my Lord. After dinner he and others that dined there went away, and then my Lord looked upon his pages' and footmen's liverys, which are come home to-day, and will be handsome, though not gaudy. Then with my Lady and my Lady Wright to White Hall; and in the Banqueting-house saw the King create my Lord Chancellor and several others, Earles,<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Crew and several others, Barons:<sup>2</sup> the first being led up by Heralds and five old Earles to the King, and there the patent is read, and the King puts on his vest, and sword, and coronett, and gives him the patent. And then he kisseth the King's hand, and rises and stands covered before the king. And the same for the Barons, only he is led up but by three of the old Barons, and are girt with swords before they go to the King. That being done (which was very pleasant to see their habitts), I carried my Lady back, and I found my Lord angry, for that his

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<sup>1</sup> Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, and Earl of Clarendon, *extinct*: Arthur (Lord Capel), Viscount Malden, and Earl of Essex; Thomas (Lord Brudenell), Earl of Cardigan; Charles Howard, Lord Dacre, Viscount Howard of Morpeth, and Earl of Carlisle; Sir Arthur Annesley (Viscount Valentia), Lord Annesley, and Earl of Anglesea; Sir John Granville, Viscount Lansdowne, and Earl of Bath, *extinct*.

<sup>2</sup> John Crewe, Baron Crewe of Stene, *extinct*; Denzil Holles, Baron Holles of Ifield, *extinct*; Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Bart., Baron Cornwallis of Eye, *extinct*; Sir Horace Townshend, Bart., Baron Townshend of King's Lynn (merged in the Marquisate); Sir A. A. Cooper, Bart., Baron Ashley of Winborne, St. Giles (merged in the Earldom of Shaftesbury); Sir George Booth, Bart., Baron Delamere of Dunham Massey, *extinct*.



page had let my Lord's new beaver be changed for an old hat ; then I went away, and with Mr. Creed to the Exchange and bought some things, as gloves and bandstrings, &c. So back to the Cockpitt, and there, by the favour of one Mr. Bowman, he and I got in, and there saw the King and Duke of York and his Duchesse (which is a plain woman, and like her mother, my Lady Chancellor). And so saw "The Humersome Lieutenant"<sup>1</sup> acted before the King, but not very well done. But my pleasure was great to see the manner of it, and so many great beauties, but above all Mrs. Palmer, with whom the King do discover a great deal of familiarity. So Mr. Creed and I (the play being done) went to Mrs. Harper's, and there sat and drank, it being about twelve at night. The ways being now so dirty, and stopped up with the rayles which are this day set up in the streets, I would not go home, but went with him to his lodging at Mr. Ware's, and there lay all night.

21st (Lord's day). In the morning we were troubled to hear it rain as it did, because of the great show to-morrow. Here dined Doctor Thos. Pepys<sup>2</sup> and Dr. Fayrebrother ; and all our talk about to-morrow's showe, and our trouble that it is like to be a wet day. All the way is so thronged with people to see the triumphall arches, that I could hardly pass for them. So home, people being at church, and I got

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<sup>1</sup> "The Humorous Lieutenant," a Tragi-comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

<sup>2</sup> Doctor in Civil Law.

home unseen, and so up to my chamber and saw done these last five or six days' diarys. My mind a little troubled about my workmen, which, being foreigners, are like to be troubled by a couple of lazy rogues that worked with me the other day, that are citizens, and so my work will be hindered, but I must prevent it if I can.

22d. KING'S GOING FROM Y<sup>E</sup> TOWER TO  
WHITE HALL.

Up early and made myself as fine as I could, and put on my velvet coat, the first day that I put it on, though made half a year ago. And being ready, Sir W. Batten, my Lady, and his two daughters and his son and wife, and Sir W. Pen and his son and I, went to Mr. Young's, the flag-maker, in Corne-hill; and there we had a good room to ourselves, with wine and good cake, and saw the show very well. In which it is impossible to relate the glory of this day, expressed in the clothes of them that rid, and their horses and horses-clothes, among others, my Lord Sandwich's. Embroidery and diamonds were ordinary among them. The Knights of the Bath was a brave sight of itself; and their Esquires, among which Mr. Armiger was an Esquire to one of the Knights. Remarquable were the two men that represent the two Dukes of Normandy and Aquitane. The Bishops come next after Barons, which is the higher place; which makes me think that the next Parliament they will be called to the House of Lords. My Lord Monk rode bare after

the King, and led in his hand a spare horse, as being Master of the Horse. The King, in a most rich embroidered suit and cloak, looked most noble. Wadlow,<sup>1</sup> the vintner, at the Devil,<sup>2</sup> in Fleet-streete, did lead a fine company of soldiers, all young comely men, in white doublets. There followed the Vice-Chamberlain, Sir G. Carteret, a company of men all like Turkes;<sup>3</sup> but I know not yet what they are for. The streets all gravelled, and the houses hung with carpets before them, made brave show, and the ladies out of the windows, one of which over against us I took much notice of, and spoke of her, which made good sport among us. So glorious was the show with

<sup>1</sup> *Wadlow*. Simon Wadlow, the original of "old Sir Simon the king," the favourite air of Squire Western in "Tom Jones."

"Hang up all the poor hop-drinkers,  
Cries old Sim, the king of skinkers."

GIFFORD'S BEN JONSON, vol. ix. p. 73. 1875.

See Diary, 25th Feb. 1664-5. (M. B.)

The Ashmolean Museum Catalogue mentions "Eight verses upon Simon Wadloe, Vintner, dwelling att ye sign of ye Devill and St. Dunstan." — *Apollo et Cohors Musarum*, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> We do not see any reason for discrediting the statement that the whole of the Devil Tavern was pulled down in 1787, and of its having been purchased by Messrs. Child and Co. for the sum of £2,800, and in the year following the row of houses now known as Child's Place was built upon the site. It may be worth recording that excellent cellars also run beneath the open space in front of those houses, as they were in all probability the cellars in which Simon Wadlow (the landlord at the sign of "St. Dunstan pulling the Devil by the nose," commonly known as the "Old Devil") kept his celebrated wines. The great room was called the Apollo. Here Jonson lorded it with greater authority than Dryden did afterwards at Will's, or Addison at Button's. Taken from Price's *ye Marigold*. (M. B.)

<sup>3</sup> This company is represented in the curious contemporary picture by Stoop, now at Goodrich Court, Herefordshire.

gold and silver, that we were not able to look at it, our eyes at last being so much overcome with it. Both the King and the Duke of York took notice of us, as they saw us at the window. The show being ended, Mr. Young did give us a dinner, at which we were very merry, and pleased above imagination at what we have seen. Sir W. Batten going home, he and I called and drunk some mum<sup>1</sup> and laid our wager about my Lady Faulconbridge's name, which he says not to be Mary,<sup>2</sup> and so I won above 20s. So home, where Will and the boy staid and saw the show upon Towre Hill, and Jane at T. Pepys's, the Turner, and my wife at Charles Glassecocke's, in Fleet Street. In the evening by water to White Hall to my Lord's, and there I spoke with my Lord. He talked with me about his suit, which was made in France, and cost him 200*l.*, and very rich it is with embroidery. I lay with Mr. Shepley, and

### CORONAÇON DAY.

23d. About 4 I rose and got to the Abbey, where

<sup>1</sup> *Mum.* Ale brewed with wheat at Brunswick.

"Sedulous and stout  
With bowls of fattening *mum*."

J. PHILLIPS, *Cyder*, vol. ii. p. 231.

As soon as the beer begins to work, they put into it the inner rind of fir, tops of fir and birch, betony, marjory, pennyroyal, wild thyme, &c. Our English brewers use cardamum, ginger, and sassafras, instead of the inner rind of fir, and add also walnut rinds, madder, red sanders, and elecampane. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Mary, daughter of Oliver Cromwell, second wife of Thomas, second Viscount Falconberg, afterwards Earl of Falconberg.

I followed Sir J. Denham,<sup>1</sup> the Surveyor, with some company that he was leading in. And with much ado, by the favour of Mr. Cooper, his man, did get up into a great scaffold across the North end of the Abbey, where with a great deal of patience I sat from past 4 till 11 before the King came in. And a great pleasure it was to see the Abbey raised in the middle, all covered with red, and a throne (that is a chaire) and footstool on the top of it; and all the officers of all kinds, so much as the very fiddlers, in red vests. At last comes in the Dean<sup>2</sup> and Prebends of Westminster, with the Bishops (many of them in cloth of gold copes), and after them the Nobility, all in their Parliament robes, which was a most magnificent sight. Then the Duke, and the King with a sceptre<sup>3</sup> (carried by my Lord Sandwich) and sword and mond<sup>4</sup> before him, and the crowne too. The King in his robes, bareheaded, which was very fine. And after all had placed themselves, there was a sermon and the service; and then in the Quire at the high altar, the King passed through all the ceremonies of the Coronation, which to my great grief I and most in the

<sup>1</sup> Created at the Restoration K B., and Surveyor-General of all the King's buildings; better known as the author of "Cooper's Hill." Ob. 1668.

<sup>2</sup> John Earle, S.T.P., in 1662 made Bishop of Worcester, and translated to Salisbury the following year; and dying in 1665, was buried in the chapel of Merton College, of which he had been a Fellow.

<sup>3</sup> It was Sir Edward's staff.

<sup>4</sup> Mond, *i.e.* "the orb." *Mond* is explained in Ludwig's "Eng.-German Dictionary," die kleine gülbene welt=kugel, so ein zeichen eines kaisers oder königs ist. "The small golden orb of the world, an emblem of an Emperor or King." In former editions, "wand." (M. B.)

Abbey could not see. The crowne being put upon his head, a great shout begun, and he came forth to the throne, and there passed through more ceremonies: as taking the oath, and having things read to him by the Bishopp;<sup>1</sup> and his lords (who put on their caps<sup>2</sup> as soon as the King put on his crowne) and bishops come, and kneeled before him. And three times the King at Armes<sup>3</sup> went to the three open places<sup>4</sup> on the scaffold, and proclaimed, that if any one could show any reason why Charles Stewart should not be King of England, that now he should come and speak. And a Generall Pardon also was read by the Lord Chancellor, and meddalls flung up and down by my Lord Cornwallis,<sup>5</sup> of silver, but I could not come by any. But so great a noise that I could make but little of the musique; and indeed, it was lost to every body. I went out a little while

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London, acting for Juxon, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose age and infirmities prevented him from attending.

<sup>2</sup> As yet Barons had no coronet. A grant of that outward mark of dignity was made to them by Charles soon after his coronation. Elizabeth had assigned coronets to Viscounts.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Edward Walker, Garter King of Arms.

<sup>4</sup> The south, west, and north sides.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Baronet, had married Elizabeth, daughter of John Ashburnham. His wife, therefore, and her brother, John Ashburnham, were first cousins to Villiers Duke of Buckingham. Rugge states in July, 1660, that "the King supped with Sir Frederick Cornwallis at Durham Yard, in the Strand." He died in January, 1661-2, and was buried with his ancestors at Brome, on the 18th. See *post*, 16th Jan. 1661-2. Collins and other writers erroneously state his death to have occurred on the 31st. The medals which he received as his fee (nearly 100 in number) were carefully preserved in the family, and have been recently arranged, so as to form the setting of a large silver cup, at Audley End.

before the King had done all his ceremonies, and went round the Abbey to Westminster Hall, all the way within rayles, and 10,000 people with the ground covered with blue cloth; and scaffolds all the way. Into the Hall I got, where it was very fine with hangings and scaffolds one upon another full of brave ladies; and my wife in one little one, on the right hand. Here I staid walking up and down, and at last upon one of the side stalls I stood and saw the King come in with all the persons (but the soldiers) that were yesterday in the cavalcade; and a most pleasant sight it was to see them in their several robes. And the King came in with his crowne on, and his sceptre in his hand, under a canopy borne up by six silver staves, carried by Barons of the Cinque Ports, and little bells at every end. And after a long time, he got up to the farther end, and all set themselves down at their several tables; and that was also a brave sight: and the King's first course carried up by the Knights of the Bath. And many fine ceremonies there was of the Heralds leading up people before him, and bowing; and my Lord of Albemarle's going to the kitchen and eating a bit of the first dish that was to go to the King's table. But, above all, was these three Lords, Northumberland,<sup>1</sup> and Suffolke,<sup>2</sup> and the Duke of Ormond,<sup>3</sup> coming before the courses on horseback,

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<sup>1</sup> Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland, acting as Lord High Constable of England, on this occasion.

<sup>2</sup> James Howard, third Earl of Suffolk.

<sup>3</sup> James Butler, first Duke of Ormond, Lord High Steward of England *pro hac vice*.



and staying so all dinner-time, and at last bringing up (Dymock) the King's Champion,<sup>1</sup> all in armour on horseback, with his speare and targett carried before him. And a Herald<sup>2</sup> proclaims "That if any dare deny Charles Stewart to be lawful King of England, here was a Champion that would fight with him ;" and with these words, the Champion flings down his gauntlet, and all this he do three times in his going up towards the King's table. At last when he is come, the King drinks to him, and then sends him the cup which is of gold, and he drinks it off, and then rides back again with the cup in his hand. I went from table to table to see the Bishops and all others at their dinner, and was infinitely pleased with it. And at the Lords' table, I met with William Howe, and he spoke to my Lord for me, and he did give me four rabbits and a pullet, and so I got it and Mr. Creed and I got Mr. Michell to give us some bread, and so we at a stall eat it, as every body else did what they could get. I took a great deal of pleasure to go up and down, and look upon the ladies, and to hear the musique of all sorts, but above all, the 24 violins.<sup>3</sup> About six at night they had dined, and I went up to my wife, and

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Edward Dymock, as Lord of the Manor of Scrivel-by, co. Lincoln. This service was last performed by one of that family at the coronation of George IV., and with the coronation dinner has since been dispensed with.

<sup>2</sup> York Herald, George Owen, who, it will be seen, rescued the canopy from the *valetaille*.

<sup>3</sup> See some congratulatory lines on the coronation, by Henry Bold, of New College, Oxford, in Somers's "Tracts," vol. vii., p. 514, Sir W. Scott's edition.



there met with a pretty lady, Mrs. Frankleyn, and kissed them both. And strange it is to think, that these two days have held up fair till now that all is done, and the King gone out of the Hall; and then it fell a-raining and thundering and lightening as I have not seen it do for some years :<sup>1</sup> which people did take great notice of; God's blessing of the work of these two days, which is a foolery to take too much notice of such things. I observed little disorder in all this, but only the King's footmen had got hold of the canopy, and would keep it from the Barons of the Cinque Ports,<sup>2</sup> which they endeavoured to force from

<sup>1</sup> Baxter, in his "Life," mentions this storm. "On April 23, was His Majesty's coronation-day, the day being very serene and fair, till suddenly in the afternoon, as they were returning from Westminster Hall, there was very terrible thunders when none expected it, which made me remember his father's coronation, on which, being a boy at school, and having leave to play for the solemnity, an earthquake, about two o'clock in the afternoon, did affright the boys, and all the neighbourhood. I intend no commentary on these, but only to relate the matter of fact."

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Kennett gives a somewhat fuller account of this unseemly broil : — "No sooner had the aforesaid Barons brought up the King to the foot of the stairs in Westminster Hall, ascending to his throne, and turned on the left hand (towards their own table) out of the way, but the King's footmen most insolently and violently seized upon the canopy, which the Barons endeavouring to keep and defend, were by their number and strength dragged down to the lower end of the Hall, nevertheless still keeping their hold; and had not Mr. Owen, York Herald, being accidentally near the Hall door, and seeing the contest, caused the same to be shut, the footmen had certainly carried it away by force. But in the interim also (speedy notice hereof having been given the King) one of the Querries were sent from him, with command to imprison the footmen, and dismiss them out of his service, which put an end to the present disturbance. These footmen were also commanded to make their submission to the Court of Claims, which was accordingly done by them the 30th April following, and the canopy then delivered back to the said Barons." Whilst this disturbance happened, the upper end of the first table, which had

them again, but could not do it till my Lord Duke of Albemarle caused it to be put into Sir R. Pye's<sup>1</sup> hand till to-morrow to be decided. At Mr. Bowyer's; a great deal of company, some I knew, others I did not. Here we staid upon the leads and below till it was late, expecting to see the fire-works, but they were not performed to-night: only the City had a light like a glory round about it with bonfires. At last I went to King-streete, and there sent Crockford to my father's and my house, to tell them I could not come home to-night, because of the dirt, and a coach could not be had. And so I took my wife and Mrs. Frankleyn (who I proffered the civility of lying with my wife at Mrs. Hunt's to-night) to Axe-yard, in which at the further end there were three great bonfires, and a great many great gallants, men and women; and they laid hold of us, and would have us drink the King's health upon our knees, kneeling upon a faggot, which we all did, they drinking to us one after another. Which we thought a strange frolique; but these gallants continued thus a great while, and I wondered to see how the ladies did tipple. At last I sent my wife and her bedfellow to bed, and Mr. Hunt and I went

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been appointed for the Barons of the Cinque Ports, was taken up by the Bishops, Judges, etc., probably nothing loth to take precedence of them; and the poor Barons, naturally unwilling to lose their dinner, were necessitated to eat it at the bottom of the second table, below the Masters of Chancery and others of the long robe.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Robert Pye, Bart., of Faringdon House, Berks; married Anne, daughter of the celebrated John Hampden. They lived together sixty years, and died in 1701, within a few weeks of each other.

in with Mr. Thornbury (who did give the company all their wine, he being yeoman of the wine-cellar to the King) ; and there, with his wife and two of his sisters, and some gallant sparks that were there, we drank the King's health, and nothing else, till one of the gentlemen fell down stark drunk, and there lay ; and I went to my Lord's pretty well. Thus did the day end with joy every where ; and blessed be God, I have not heard of any mischance to any body through it all, but only to Serj<sup>t</sup>. Glynne,<sup>1</sup> whose horse fell upon him yesterday, and is like to kill him, which people do please themselves to see how just God is to punish the rogue at such a time as this ; he being now one of the King's Serjeants, and rode in the cavalcade with Maynard,<sup>2</sup> to whom people wish the same fortune. There was also this night in King-streete, a woman had her eye put out by a boy's flinging a firebrand into the coach. Now, after all this, I can say that, besides the pleasure of the sight of these glorious things, I may now shut my eyes against any other objects, nor for the

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<sup>1</sup> He had been Recorder of London ; and during the Protectorate was made Chief Justice of the Upper Bench ; nevertheless he did Charles II. great service, and was in consequence knighted and appointed King's Serjeant, and his son created a Baronet. Ob. 1666.

<sup>2</sup> John Maynard, an eminent lawyer ; made Serjeant to Cromwell in 1653, and afterwards King's Serjeant by Charles II., who knighted him. In 1661 he was chosen Member for Berealston, and sat in every Parliament till the Revolution. Ob. 1690, aged 88. He waited upon William with an address of congratulation after the abdication of James, and when the new King, observing his age, told him he must have outlived many of the judges and of the lawyers of his own standing : " Yes," replied Sir John, " and I should have outlived the law too, if your majesty had not come to the throne of this country." (M. B.)

future trouble myself to see things of state and showe, as being sure never to see the like again in this world.

24th. Waked in the morning with my head in a sad taking through the last night's drink, which I am very sorry for ; so rose and went out with Mr. Creed to drink our morning draft, which he did give me in chocolate<sup>1</sup> to settle my stomach. At night, set myself to write down these three days' diary, and while I am about it, I hear the noise of the chambers,<sup>2</sup> and other things of the fire-works, which are now playing upon the Thames before the King ; and I wish myself with them, being sorry not to see them. So to bed.

25th. At noon Mr. Moore and I went to an Ordinary at the King's Head in Towre Street, and there had a dirty dinner.

26th. At the office all the morning, having some thoughts to order my business so as to go to Portsmouth the next week with Sir Robert Slingsby.

27th. Dined with my Lady, and after dinner with Mr. Creed and Captain Ferrers to the Theatre to see "The Chances."<sup>3</sup>

28th (Lord's day). In the morning to my father's, where I dined, and in the afternoon to their church, where come Mrs. Turner and Mrs. Edward Pepys, and

<sup>1</sup> Chocolate was introduced into England about the year 1652. In the "Publick Advertiser" of Tuesday, June 16-22, 1657, we find the following: "In Bishopsgate Street in Queen's Head Alley, at a Frenchman's house, is an excellent West India drink called *chocolate*, to be sold, where you may have it ready at any time, and also unmade at reasonable rates." (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Chamber, a species of great gun.

<sup>3</sup> By Beaumont and Fletcher.

several other ladies, and so I went out of the pewe into another. Sent for to my father's, where my cozen Angier and his wife, of Cambridge, to whom I went, and was glad to see them, and sent for wine for them, and they supped with my father.

29th. To the office, where it is determined that I should go to Portsmouth to-morrow.

30th. This morning my wife and I and Mr. Creed took coach, and in Fish-street took up Mr. Hater and his wife, who through her maske seemed at first to be an old woman, but afterwards I found her to be a very pretty modest black woman. We got a small bait at Leatherhead, and so to Godlyman,<sup>1</sup> where we lay all night, and were very merry, having this day no other extraordinary rencontre, but my hat falling off my head at Newington into the water, by which it was spoiled, and I ashamed of it. I am sorry that I am not at London, to be at Hide-parke to-morrow, among the great gallants and ladies, which will be very fine.<sup>2</sup>

May 1st. Up early, and bated at Petersfield, in the

<sup>1</sup> Godalming.

<sup>2</sup> *Hyde Park* must have been the fashionable Mall so early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, for a song of that time says of Hyde Park:

"What thruch your ladies  
All of the land  
Come riding hither  
Forth of the Strand."

PINKERTON'S *Ancient Scottish Poems*, vol. ii. p. 499. London, 1786.

In the Prologue to the *Staple*, in 1625, we find:

"How many coaches in Hyde Park did show last Spring."

BEN JONSON'S *Works*, vol. v. p. 157. 1875.

And in 1620 it was a famous place for people of fashion meeting with their

room which the King lay in lately at his being there. Here very merry, and played with our wives at bowles. Then we set forth again, and so to Portsmouth, seeming to me to be a very pleasant and strong place; and we lay at the Red Lyon, where Haselrigge and Scott and Walton did hold their councill, when they were here, against Lambert and the Committee of Safety. Several officers of the Yard came to see us to-night, and merry we were, but troubled to have no better lodgings.

2nd. Up, and Mr. Creed and I to walk round the towne upon the walls. Then to our inne, and there all the officers of the Yard to see me with great respect, and I walked with them to the Docke and saw all the stores, and much pleased with the sight of the place. Back and brought them all to dinner with me, and treated them handsomely; and so after dinner by water to the Yard, and there we made the sale of the old provisions. Then we and our wives all to see the Montagu, which is a fine ship, and so to the towne again by water, and then to see the room where the Duke of Buckingham<sup>1</sup> was killed by Felton.<sup>2</sup> So to our lodging, and to supper and to bed.

coaches. Edward VI. used to hunt in Hyde Park. In 1653 Evelyn writes ("Diary," 8vo., 1827, vol. ii. pp. 63, 64), "I went to take the air in Hyde Park, where every coach was made to pay a shilling, and horse 6*d.* by the sordid fellow, who had purchased it of the State, as they were 'called.'" — BUCKLE, *Common-place Book*, vol. ii. p. 437. (M. B.)

<sup>1</sup> Killed by Felton when going in command of an armament for the relief of Rochelle, August, 1628, in his 36th year. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> The house wherein the murder was committed in August, 1628, is

3rd. Early to walk with Mr. Creed up and down the towne, and it was in his and some others' thoughts to have got me made free of the towne, but the Mayor, it seems, unwilling, and so they could not do it. Then to the payhouse, and so to a short dinner, and then took coach to Petersfield, having nothing more of trouble in all my journey, but the exceeding unmannerly and most epicure-like palate of Mr. Creed. Here my wife and I lay in the room the Queene lately lay at her going into France.

4th. Up in the morning and took coach, and so to Gilford, where we lay at the Red Lyon, the best Inne, and lay in the room the King lately lay in, where we had time to see the Hospital, built by Archbishop Abbott, and the free schoole, and were civilly treated by the Mayster. So to supper, and to bed, being very merry about our discourse with the Drawers concerning the minister of the Towne, with a red face and a girdle.

5th (Lord's day). Mr. Creed and I went to the red-faced Parson's church, and heard a good sermon of him, better than I looked for. Then home, and had a good dinner, and after dinner fell in some talk in Divinity that kept us till it was past Church time. Anon we walked into the garden, and there played the fool a great while, trying who of Mr. Creed or

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situated at the upper end of the High Street at Portsmouth, and its remains are now known as No. 10 in that street. It was occupied recently as a ladies' school. A representation of the front of the house is given in Brayley's "*Graphic Illustrator*," p. 240.



I could go best over the edge of an old fountaine well, and I won a quart of sack of him. Then to supper in the banquet house, and there my wife and I did talk high, she against and I for Mrs. Pierce (that she was a beauty), till we were both angry. Then to walk in the fields, and so to our quarters, and to bed.

6th. Up by four o'clock and took coach, and staid by the way and eat some cakes, and so home. I hear to-night that the Duke of York's son<sup>1</sup> is this day dead, which I believe will please every body; and I hear that the Duke and his Lady themselves are not much troubled at it.<sup>2</sup>

7th. My Lady, I find, is, since my going, gone to the Wardrobe.<sup>3</sup> Then with Mr. Creed into London; stopped in our way by the City trayne-bands, who go in much solemnity and pomp this day to muster before the King and the Duke, and shops in the City are shut up every where all this day. He carried me to an ordinary by the Old Exchange, where we come a little too late, but we had very good cheer for our 18*d.* a-piece, and an excellent droll too, my hoste, and his wife so fine a woman, and sung and played so well that I staid a great while and drunk a great deal of wine. To bed, having sent my Lord a letter to-night to excuse myself for not going with him to-morrow to

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<sup>1</sup> Charles, Duke of Cambridge, born October 22, 1660, ob. May 5, 1661. He was the first of eight children by Anne Hyde.

<sup>2</sup> The legitimacy of the infant might have been questionable. See Oct. 7, and Dec. 16, 1660, and Feb. 23, 1660-61.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Sandwich's residence as Keeper of the Wardrobe. (M. B.)



the Hope, whither he is to go to see in what condition the fleete is in.

8th. This morning came my brother John to take his leave of me, he being to return to Cambridge to-morrow, and after I had chid him for going with my Will the other day to Deptford, I did give him some good counsell and 20s. in money, and so he went away. At night comes my wife not well from my father's, having had a fore-tooth drawn out to-day, which do trouble me. To-day I received a letter from my uncle, to beg an old fiddle of me for my Cozen Perkin, the miller, whose mill the wind hath lately broke down, and now he hath nothing to live by but fiddling, and he must needs have it against Whitsuntide to play to the country girles ; but it vexed me to see how my uncle writes to me, as if he were not able to buy him one.

9th. With my Lord at his lodgings, and there being with him my Lord Chamberlaine,<sup>1</sup> I spoke for my old waterman Payne, to get into White's place, who was waterman to my Lord Chamberlaine, and is now to go master of the barge to my Lord to sea, and my Lord Chamberlaine did promise that Payne should be entertained in White's place with him. From thence to Sir G. Carteret, and there did get his promise for the payment of the remainder of the bill of Mr. Creed's, wherein of late I have been so much concerned, which did so much rejoyce me that I meeting

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<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Manchester.

with Mr. Childe took him to the Swan Taverne in King Street, and there did give him a tankard of white wine and sugar.

10th. At the office all the morning, and the afternoon among my workmen with great pleasure, because being near an end of their work.

11th. To Graye's Inne, and there to a barber's, where I was trimmed, and had my haire cutt, in which I am lately become a little curious, finding that the length of it do become me very much.

12th. I staid at home all this morning, being the Lord's day, making up my private accounts and setting papers in order. Dined with my wife, then I walked forth towards Westminster, and at the Savoy heard Dr. Fuller<sup>1</sup> preach upon David's words,<sup>2</sup> "I will wait with patience all the days of my appointed time until my change comes;" but methought it was a poor dry sermon. And I am afeard my former high esteem of his preaching was more out of opinion than judgment. Met with Mr. Creed, with whom I went and walked in Grayes-Inn-walks, and from thence to Islington, and there eate and drank at the house<sup>3</sup> my father and we were wont of old to go to; and after that walked homeward, and parted in Smithfield: and

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<sup>1</sup> The celebrated Thomas Fuller, D.D., the Church historian, and author of "The Worthies of England," then lecturer at the Savoy. At his death in August following, he was chaplain to the King, prebendary of Salisbury, and rector of Cranford, where he was buried.

<sup>2</sup> The text meant is Job xiv. 14: "All the days of my appointed time will I wait, till my change come."

<sup>3</sup> The King's Head. See 27th March, 1664.

so I home, much wondering to see how things are altered with Mr. Creed,<sup>1</sup> who, twelve months ago, might have been got to hang himself almost as soon as go to a drinking-house on a Sunday.

14th. Finding my head grow weak now-a-days if I come to drink wine, and therefore hope that I shall leave it off of myself, which I pray God I could do. My Lord told me of his intention to get the Muster Master's place for Mr. Pierce, the purser, who he has a mind to carry to sea with him, and spoke very slightly of Mr. Creed, as that he had no opinion at all of him, but only he was forced to make use of him because of his present accounts. In the evening Mr. Shepley came to me for some money, and so he and I to the Mitre, and there we had good wine and a gammon of bacon.

15th. This afternoon there came two men with an order from a Committee of Lords to demand some books of me out of the office, in order to the examining of Mr. Hutchinson's accounts, but I give them a surly answer, and they went away to complain, which put me into some trouble with myself, but I resolve to go to-morrow myself to these Lords and answer them.

16th. About 2 o'clock went in my velvet coat by water to the Savoy, and there, having staid a good while, I was called into the Lords, and there, quite contrary to my expectations, they did treat me very

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<sup>1</sup> He had been a zealous Puritan.

civilly, telling me that what they had done was out of zeal to the King's service, and that they would joyne with the governors of the chest with all their hearts, since they knew that there was any, which they did not before. I give them very respectful answer and so went away to the Theatre, and there saw the latter end of "The Mayd's Tragedy,"<sup>1</sup> which I never saw before, and methinks it is too sad and melancholy. To the Wardrobe, and there we found my Lord newly gone away with the Duke of Ormond and some others, whom he had had to a collacion; and so we, with the rest of the servants in the hall, sat down and eat of the best cold meats that ever I eat on in all my life. From thence I went home, Mr. Moore with me to the waterside, telling me how kindly he is used by my Lord and my Lady since his coming hither as a servant.

17th. At noon Lieutenant Lambert came to me, and he and I to the Exchange, and thence to an ordinary over against it, where to our dinner we had a fellow play well upon the bagpipes and whistle like a bird exceeding well, and I had a fancy to learn to whistle as he do, and did promise to come some other day and give him an angell to teach me. To the office till 9 at night. So home to my musique, and my wife and I sat singing in my chamber a good while together, and then to bed.

18th. Towards Westminster, from the Towre, by

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<sup>1</sup> By Beaumont and Fletcher. Mohun played *Melantius*; Hart, *Aminator*; and Mrs. Marshall, *Evadne*.

water, and was fain to stand upon one of the pieres about the bridge, before the men could drag their boat through the lock, and which they could not do till another was called to help them. Being through bridge I found the Thames full of boats and gallys, and upon inquiry found that there was a wager to be run this morning. So spying of Payne in a gally, I went into him, and there staid, thinking to have gone to Chelsy with them. But upon the start, the wager boats fell foul one of another, till at last one of them gives over, pretending foule play, and so the other row away alone, and all our sport lost. So I went ashore to Westminster; where it was very pleasant to see the Hall in the condition it is now, with the Judges on the benches at the further end of it,<sup>1</sup> which I had not seen all this terme till now. So I home, where I staid all the afternoon, and in the garden reading "Faber Fortunæ" with great pleasure.

19th (Lord's day). I walked in the morning towards Westminster, and, seeing many people at York House,<sup>2</sup> I went down and found them at masse, it being the Spanish ambassador's;<sup>3</sup> and so I got into

<sup>1</sup> The Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas were at the upper end of the hall so lately as 1810.

<sup>2</sup> York House belonged to the See of York till James I.'s time, when Toby Matthews exchanged it with the Crown. Chancellors Egerton and Bacon resided there, after which it was granted to Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Subsequently to the Restoration, his son occupied the house some years, and disposing of the premises, they were converted into the streets still bearing his names, and the general appellation of York Buildings. See "Handbook of London," *ubi plura*.

<sup>3</sup> The Baron de Batteville.

one of the gallerys, and there heard two masses done, I think, not in so much state as I have seen them heretofore. After that into the garden, and walked a turn or two, but found it not so fine a place as I always took it for by the outside. Capt. Ferrers and Mr. Howe and myself to Mr. Wilkinson's at the Crowne : then to my Lord's, where we went and sat talking and laughing in the drawing-room a great while. All our talk about their going to sea this voyage, which Capt. Ferrers is in some doubt whether he shall go or no, but swears that he would go, if he were sure never to come back again ; and I, giving him some hopes, he grew so mad with joy that he fell a-dancing and leaping like a madman. Now it fell out so that the balcone windows were open, and he went to the rayle and made an offer to leap over, and asked what if he should leap over there. I told him I would give him 40*l.* if he did not go to sea. With that thought I shut the doors, and W. Howe hindered him all we could ; yet he opened them again, and, with a vault, leaps down into the garden : — the greatest and most desperate frolic that ever I saw in my life. I run to see what was become of him, and we found him crawled upon his knees, but could not rise ; so we went down into the garden and dragged him to the bench, where he looked like a dead man, but could not stir ; and, though he had broke nothing, yet his pain in his back was such as he could not endure. With this, my Lord (who was in the little new room) come to us in amaze, and bid us carry him up, which,

by our strength, we did, and so laid him in East's bed, by the doore; where he lay in great pain. We sent for a doctor and chyrurgeon, but none to be found, till by-and-by by chance comes in Dr. Clerke, who is afeard of him.<sup>1</sup> So we sent to get a lodging for him, and I went up to my Lord, where Captain Cooke, Mr. Gibbons, and others of the King's musicians were come to present my Lord with some songs and symphonys, which were performed very finely. I am troubled to see my father so much decay of a suddain, as he do both in his seeing and hearing, and as much to hear of him how my brother Tom do grow disrespectful to him and my mother. I went home, where to prayers (which I have not had in my house a good while), and so to bed.

20th. Visited by Mr. Anderson, my former chamber fellow at Cambridge, with whom I parted at the Hague, but I did not go forth with him, only gave him a morning draft at home. At noon Mr. Creed came to me, and he and I to the Exchange, and so to an ordinary to dinner, and after dinner to the Mitre, and there sat drinking while it rained very much. Then to the office, where I found Sir Williams both, choosing of masters for the new fleet of ships that is ordered to be set forth, and Pen seeming to be in an ugly humour, not willing to gratify one that I mentioned to be put in, did vex me. We sat late, and so home.

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<sup>1</sup> He recovered.

21st. Up early, and, with Sir R. Slingsby (and Major Waters the deafe gentleman, his friend, for company's sake) to the Victualling-office<sup>1</sup> (the first time that I ever knew where it was), and there staid while he read a commission for enquiry into some of the King's lands and houses thereabouts, that are given his brother. And then we took boat to Woolwich, where we staid and gave order for the fitting out of some more ships presently. And then to Deptford, where we did the same; and so took barge again, and were overtaken by the King in his barge, he having been down the river with his yacht this day for pleasure to try it; and, as I hear, Commissioner Pett's do prove better than the Dutch one, and that that his brother built. While we were upon the water, one of the greatest showers of rain fell that ever I saw. The Comptroller and I landed with our barge at the Temple, and from thence I went to my father's, and there did give order about some clothes to be made, and did buy a new hatt, cost between 20 and 30 shillings, at Mr. Holden's. So home.

22nd. To Westminster, and there missed of my Lord, and so about noon I and W. Howe by water to the Wardrobe, where my Lord and all the officers of the Wardrobe dined, and several other friends of

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<sup>1</sup> The Victualling Office at the End of East Smithfield, according to Stow, occupied the site of the Abbey of St. Mary of the Graces, which had been founded by Edward III. to commemorate his escape from shipwreck; and was granted at the dissolution to Sir Arthur Darcy, who pulled it down.



my Lord, at a venison pasty. Before dinner, my Lady Wright and my Lady Jem. sang songs to the harpsicon. Very pleasant and merry at dinner. At night before I went to bed the barber came to trim me and wash me, and so to bed, in order to my being clean to-morrow.

23rd. This day I went to my Lord, and about many other things at Whitehall, and there made even my accounts with Mr. Shepley at my Lord's, and then with him and Mr. Moore and John Bowles to the Rhenish wine house,<sup>1</sup> and there came Jonas Moore,<sup>2</sup> the mathematician, to us, and there he did by discourse make us fully believe that England and France were once the same continent, by very good arguments, and spoke very many things, not so much to prove the Scripture false as that the time therein is not well computed nor understood. From thence home by water, and there shifted myself into my black silk suit (the first day I have put it on this year), and so to my Lord Mayor's by coach, with a great deal of honourable company, and great entertainment. At table I had very good discourse with Mr. Ashmole, wherein he did assure me that frogs and many insects do often fall from the sky, ready formed. Dr. Bates's<sup>3</sup> singularity in not rising up nor

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<sup>1</sup> In Crooked Lane; but see August 9, 1660, *ante*.

<sup>2</sup> Jonas Moore, a native of Lancashire, one of the most eminent mathematicians of his day. He was knighted by Charles II., and made Surveyor of the Ordnance, and died in 1679.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. William Bates, one of the most eminent of the Puritan divines, and who took part in the Savoy Conference. His collected writings fill a large

drinking the King's nor other healths at the table was very much observed. From thence we all took coach, and to our office, and there sat till it was late; and so I home and to bed by day-light. This day was kept a holy-day through the towne; and it pleased me to see the little boys walk up and down in procession with their broom-staffs in their hands, as I had myself long ago gone.<sup>1</sup>

24th. At home all the morning making up my private accounts, and this is the first time that I do find myself to be clearly worth £500 in money, besides all my goods in my house, &c. In the afternoon at the office late, and then I went to the Wardrobe, where I found my Lord at supper, and therefore I walked a good while till he had done, and I went in to him, and there he looked over my accounts. Then down to the kitchen to eat a bit of bread and butter, which I did, and there I took one of the mayds by the chin, thinking her to be Susan, but it proved to be her sister, who is very like her.

25th. All the morning at home about business.

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volume in folio. The dissenters called him silver-tongued Bates: he certainly was not a Chrysostom.

<sup>1</sup> Pepys here refers to the perambulation of parishes on Holy Thursday, still observed. This ceremony was sometimes enlivened by whipping the boys, for the better impressing on their minds the remembrance of the day, and the boundaries of the parish, instead of beating houses or stones. But this would not have harmonized well with the excellent Hooker's practice on this day, when he "always dropped some loving and *facetious* observations, to be remembered against the next year, especially by the boys and young people." Amongst Dorsetshire customs, it seems that, in perambulating a manor or parish, a boy is tossed into a stream, if that be the boundary; if a hedge, a sapling from it is applied for the purpose of flagellation.

At noon to the Temple, where I staid and looked over a book or two at Playford's, and then to the Theatre, where I saw a piece of "The Silent Woman," which pleased me. So homewards, and in my way bought "The Bondman" in Paul's Churchyard, and so home, where I found all clean, and the hearth and range, as it is now enlarged, set up, which pleases me very much.

26th (Lord's day). Lay long in bed. To church and heard a good sermon at our own church, where I have not been a great many weeks. Dined with my wife alone at home pleasing myself in that my house do begin to look as if at last it would be in good order. This day the Parliament received the communion of Dr. Gunning at St. Margaret's, Westminster. In the afternoon both the Sir Williams came to church, where we had a dull stranger. After church home, and so to the Mitre, where I found Dr. Burnett,<sup>1</sup> the first time that ever I met him to drink with him, and so I to Sir W. Batten's, where I have on purpose made myself a great stranger, only to get a high opinion a little more of myself in them. Here I heard how Mrs. Browne, Sir W. Batten's sister, is brought to bed, and I to be one of the godfathers, which I could not nor did deny. Which, however, did trouble me very much to be at charge to no purpose, so that I could not sleep hardly all night, but in the morning I bethought myself, and I think it is

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<sup>1</sup> See Diary, 25th August, 1665: "This day I am told that Dr. Burnett, my physician, is this morning dead of the plague." (M. B.)

very well I should do it. Sir W. Batten told me how Mr. Prin (among the two or three that did refuse to-day to receive the sacrament upon their knees) was offered by a mistake the drinke afterwards, which he did receive, being denied the drinke by Dr. Gunning, unless he would take it on his knees; and after that by another the bread was brought him, and he did take it sitting, which is thought very preposterous.

27th. With my Lords Sandwich and Hinchinbroke to the Lords' House by boat at Westminster, and there I left them. Then to the lobby, and after waiting for Sir G. Downing's coming out, to speak with him about the giving me up of my bond, for my honesty when I was his clerk, but to no purpose, I went to Clerke's at the Legg, and there I found both Mr. Pierces, Mr. Rolt, formerly too great a man to meet upon such even terms, and there we dined very merry, there coming to us Captain Ferrers, this being the first day of his going abroad since his leape a week ago, which I was greatly glad to see. By water to the office, and there sat late, Sir G. Carteret coming in, who among other things did inquire into the naming of the maisters for this fleet, and was very angry that they were named as they are, and above all to see the maister of the Adventure (for whom there is some kind of difference between Sir W. Pen and me) turned out, who has been in her list. The office done, I went with the Comptroller to the Coffee house, and there we discoursed of this, and I seem to

be fond of him, and indeed I find I must carry fair with all as far as I see it safe.

28th. With Mr. Shepley to the Exchange about business, and there, by Mr. Rawlinson's favour, got into a balcone over against the Exchange; and there saw the hangman burn, by vote of Parliament, two old acts, the one for constituting us a Commonwealth, and the other<sup>1</sup> I have forgot.<sup>2</sup> Which still do make me think of the greatness of this late turne, and what people will do to-morrow against what they all, through profit or fear, did promise and practise this day. To Cheapside about buying a piece of plate to give away to-morrow to Mrs. Browne's child. So to Sir W. Pen's, and there sat alone with him till ten at night in talk with great content, he telling me things and persons that I did not understand in the late times, and so I home to bed.

29th (King's birth-day). Rose early, and put six spoons and a porringer of silver in my pocket to give away to-day. Sir W. Pen and I took coach, and (the weather and ways being foule) went to Walthamstowe; and being come there heard Mr. Radcliffe,<sup>3</sup> my former school fellow at Paul's (who is yet a mere boy), preach upon "Nay, let him take all, since my Lord the King is returned," &c. He reads all, and his

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<sup>1</sup> It was an Act for subscribing the Engagement.

<sup>2</sup> On the same day there had been burned by the hangman, in Westminster Hall, the Act for "erecting an High Court of Justice for trying and judging Charles Stuart." Two more Acts were similarly burned the next day.

<sup>3</sup> Jonathan Radcliff, A.M., then Vicar of Walthamstow.

sermon very simple, but I looked for new matter. Back to dinner to Sir William Batten's; and then, after a walk in the fine gardens, we went to Mrs. Browne's, where Sir W. Pen and I were godfathers, and Mrs. Jordan<sup>1</sup> and Shipman<sup>2</sup> godmothers to her boy. And there, before and after the christening, we were with the woman above in her chamber; but whether we carried ourselves well or ill, I know not; but I was directed by young Mrs. Batten. One passage of a lady that eate wafers with her dog did a little displease me. I did give the midwife 10s. and the nurse 5s. and the mayde of the house 2s. But for as much I expected to give the name to the childe, but did not (it being called John), I forbore then to give my plate till another time after a little more advice. All being done, we went to Mrs. Shipman's, who is a great butter-woman, and I did see there the most of milk and creame, and the cleanest that ever I saw in my life. After we had filled our bellies with creame, we took our leaves and away. In our way, we had great sport to try who should drive fastest, Sir W. Batten's coach, or Sir W. Pen's chariott, they having four, and we two horses, and we beat them. But it cost me the spoiling of my clothes and velvet coate with dirt. Being come home I to bed, and give my breeches to be dried by the fire against to-morrow.

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<sup>1</sup> The wife of Captain, afterwards Sir Joseph Jordan.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Shipman bought the great tithes of Walthamstow from the Argall family in 1663; and left them by will to his wife Dorothy, from whom they passed in 1667 to Robert Mascall, merchant.

30th. To the Wardrobe and there, with my Lord, went into his new barge to try her, and found her a good boat, and like my Lord's contrivance of the door to come out round and not square as they used to do, and thence I to Greateorex, who took me to Arundell-House, and there showed me some fine flowers in his garden, and all the fine statues in the gallery, which I formerly had seen, and is a brave sight, and thence to a blind dark cellar, where we had two bottles of good ale, and so after giving him direction for my silver side-table, I took boat at Arundell stairs. This day, I hear, the Parliament have ordered a bill to be brought in for the restoring the Bishops to the House of Lords; which they had not done so soon but to spite Mr. Prin, who is every day so bitter against them in his discourse in the House.

31st. To my father's, but to my great grief I found my father and mother in a great deal of discontent one with another, and indeed my mother is grown now so pettish that I know not how my father is able to bear with it. I did talk to her so as did not indeed become me, but I could not help it, she being so unsufferably foolish and simple, so that my father, poor man, is become a very unhappy man. There I dined, and so home and to the office all the afternoon till 9 at night. Great talk now how the Parliament intend to make a collection of free gifts to the King through the Kingdom; but I think it will not come to much.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See 31st August, 1661, *post*.

June 1st. Sir W. Pen and I and Mr. Gauden by water to Woolwich, and there went from ship to ship to give order for and take notice of their forwardness to go forth, and then to Deptford and did the like, having dined at Woolwich with Captain Poole at the taverne there. From Deptford we walked to Redriffe, calling at the half-way house, and there came into a room where there was infinite of new cakes placed that are made against Whitsuntide, and there we were very merry.

2nd. The barber having done with me, I went to church, and there heard a good sermon of Mr. Mills, fit for the day. Then home to dinner, and then to church again, and going home I found Greatorex (whom I expected to-day at dinner) come to see me, and so he and I in my chamber drinking of wine and eating of anchovies an hour or two, discoursing of many things in mathematics, and among others he showed me how it comes to pass the strength that levers have, and he showed me that what is got as to matter of strength is lost by them as to matter of time. It rained very hard, as it hath done of late so much that we begin to doubt a famine. After prayers to bed.

3rd. To the Wardrobe, where discoursing with my Lord, he did instruct me as to the business of the Wardrobe, in case, in his absence, Mr. Townsend should die, and told me that he do intend to joyne me and Mr. Moore with him as to the business, now he is going to sea, and spoke to me many other things, as



to one that he do put the greatest confidence in, of which I am proud. Here I had a good occasion to tell him (what I have had long in my mind) that, since it has pleased God to bless me with something, I am desirous to lay out something for my father, and so have pitched upon Mr. Young's place in the Wardrobe, which I desired he would give order in his absence, if the place should fall that I might have the refusal. Which my Lord did freely promise me, at which I was very glad, he saying that he would do that at the least. My cozen Scott came to dine with me, and before we had done in comes my father Bowyer and my mother and four daughters, and a young gentleman and his sister, their friends, and there staid all the afternoon, which cost me great store of wine, and were very merry. Mr. Creed and I to the Towre, to speak for some ammunicion for my Lord; and so he and I, with much pleasure, walked quite round the Towre, which I never did before. To the Beare, at the Bridge foot, thinking to have met my Lord Hinchinbroke and his brother setting forth for France; but they being not come we went over to the Wardrobe, and there found that my Lord Abbot Montagu<sup>1</sup> being not at Paris, my Lord hath a mind to have them stay a little longer before they go.

4th. To my Lord Crew's to dinner, and had very

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<sup>1</sup> Walter, second son to the first Earl of Manchester, embracing the Romish faith while on his travels, was made Abbot of Pontoise, through the influence of Mary de Medici. He afterwards became almoner to the Queen-Dowager of England, and died 1670.

good discourse about having of young noblemen and gentlemen to think of going to sea, as being as honourable service as the land war. And among other things he told us how, in Queen Elizabeth's time, one young nobleman would wait with a trencher at the back of another till he came to age himself. And witnessed in my young Lord of Kent, that then was, who waited upon my Lord Bedford at table, when a letter came to my Lord Bedford that the Earldome of Kent was fallen to his servant, the young Lord; and so he rose from table, and made him sit down in his place, and took a lower for himself, for so he was by place to sit.<sup>1</sup> From thence to the Theatre and saw "Harry the 4th," a good play. That done I went over the water and walked over the fields to Southwarke, and so home and to my lute.

5th. This morning did give my wife 4*l.* to lay out upon lace and other things for herself. Sir W. Pen and I went home with Sir R. Slingsby to bowles in his ally, and there had good sport, and afterwards went in and drank and talked. I took my flageolette and played upon the leads in the garden, where Sir W. Pen came out in his shirt into his leads, and there we staid talking and singing, and drinking great drafts of claret, and eating botargo<sup>2</sup> and bread and butter till

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<sup>1</sup> The Earldom of Kent was erected for the Grey family in 1465; that of Bedford for the Russells, in 1550.

<sup>2</sup> *Botargo*, a kind of salt cake, or rather sausage, made of the hard roe of the sea mullet pickled with oil and vinegar, chiefly used to promote drinking by causing thirst. Of Gargantua it is said, "Because he was naturally phlegmatic, he began his meal with some dozens of gammons, dried neats' tongues,

12 at night, it being moonshine ; and so to bed, very near fuddled.

6th. My head hath ached all night, and all this morning, with my last night's debauch. Called up this morning by Lieutenant Lambert,<sup>1</sup> who is now made Captain of the Norwich, and he and I went down by water to Greenwich, in our way observing and discoursing upon the things of a ship, he telling me all I asked him, which was of good use to me. There we went and eat and drank and heard musique at the Globe, and saw the simple motion that is there of a woman with a rod in her hand keeping time to the musique while it plays, which is simple, methinks. Back again by water, calling at Captain Lambert's house, which is very handsome and neat, and a fine prospect at top. So to the office, where we sat a little, and then I to Bridewell to Mr. Holland's, where his wife also, a plain dowdy, and his mother was. Here came two young gentlewomen to see Mr. Holland, and one of them could play pretty well upon the viallin, but, good God ! how these ignorant people did cry her up for it ! We were very merry. I staid and supped there, and so home and to bed. The weather very hot, this night I left off my wastecoate.

8th. To Whitehall to my Lord, who did tell me that he would have me go to Mr. Townsend, whom he had ordered to discover to me the whole mystery of

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*botargos*, sausages, and such other forerunners of wine." — *Rabelais*, book i. chap. 21. See Nares' Glossary. (M. B.)

<sup>1</sup> See 24th Jan. 1659-60, *ante*.

the Wardrobe, and none else but me, and that he will make me deputy with him for fear that he should die in my Lord's absence, of which I was glad. I went to the Theatre and there saw Bartholomew Faire,<sup>1</sup> the first time it was acted now-a-days. It is a most admirable play and well acted, but too much prophane and abusive. Then away home, and in my way called upon Mr. Rawlinson, for his advice to answer a letter of my uncle Robert, wherein he do offer me a purchase to lay out some money upon, that joynes upon some of his own lands, and plainly telling me that the reason of his advice is the convenience that it will give me as to his estate, of which I am exceeding glad, and am advised to give up wholly the disposal of my money to him, let him do what he will with it, which I shall do. So home and to bed.

9th (Lord's day). This day my wife put on her black silk gowne, which is now laced all over with black gimp lace, as the fashion is, in which she is very pretty. She and I walked to my Lady's at the Wardrobe, and there dined and was exceeding much made of. After dinner to Mr. Pierce's, and there he and I, and Mr. Symons (dancing master), that goes to sea with my Lord, to the Swan taverne, and there drank, and so again to White Hall, and there met with Dean Fuller,<sup>2</sup> and walked a great while with him; among other things discoursed of the liberty the Bishop (by

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<sup>1</sup> A comedy, by Ben Jonson; first acted in 1614.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, 7th April, 1661, and note.

name he of Galloway)<sup>1</sup> takes to admit into orders any body that will; among others, Roundtree, a simple mechanic that was a person formerly in the fleet.<sup>2</sup> He told me he would complain of it. By and by he went and got a sculler, and landing him at Worcester House, I and W. Howe, who came to us at Whitehall, went to the Wardrobe. I went up to Jane Shore's towre, and there W. Howe and I sang, and so took my wife and walked home, and so to bed.

10th. Early to my Lord's, who privately told me how the King had made him Ambassador in the bringing over the Queen. That he is to go to Algier,

<sup>1</sup> Murray and Heath, whose authority is generally good, assert that James Hamilton was at this time Bishop of Galloway; but the commission for his consecration bears date 12th December, 1661. Kennett also mentions Thomas Sydserf, who had been deposed from the See of Galloway by the Presbyterians in 1638, as the only Scotch prelate alive at the Restoration; and adds, that he came up to London, expecting to be advanced to the Primacy. But he had so disgusted the English bishops, that he was only removed to the See of Orkney, which, though richly endowed, was considered at all times as a sinecure; and he did not long survive his translation. At all events, Hamilton was his successor, and the Bishop of Galloway mentioned in the Diary, 15th May, 1663. Lingard's testimony is in favour of Sydserf being the Bishop of Galloway here alluded to. The death of the Bishop of Orkney (late of Galloway) is mentioned in "The Intelligencer," 29th September, 1663.

<sup>2</sup> The reading in the early editions of the Diary is, "a person formerly of the fleet;" in the later editions, "a parson formerly of the Fleet." The cypher for "person" or "parson" is the same. I have preferred the reading of the early editions, merely correcting "of" to "in," for two reasons—one, because the marriages were performed by clergymen, though disreputable, who would not require fresh ordination; the other because, although there were Fleet marriages at that time, yet they do not seem to be common. The date of the earliest Fleet register now preserved in the Bishop of London's Registry is 1674. (M. B.)

&c., to settle the business, and to put the fleet in order there; and so to come back to Lisbon with three ships, and there to meet the fleet that is to follow him. He sent for me, to tell me that he do intrust me with the seeing of all things done in his absence as to this great preparation, as I shall receive orders from my Lord Chancellor and Mr. Edward Montagu. At all which my heart is above measure glad; for my Lord's honour, and some profit to myself, I hope. By and by, out with Mr. Shepley, Walden,<sup>1</sup> Parliament-man for Huntingdon, Rolt,<sup>2</sup> Mackworth, and Alderman Backwell, to a house hard by, to drink Lambeth ale. So I back to the Wardrobe, and there found my Lord going to Trinity House,<sup>3</sup> this being the solemn day of choosing Master, and my Lord is chosen. I staid there and dined with my Lady; but after we were set, comes in some persons of condition, and so the children and I rose and dined by ourselves, all the children and I, and were very merry and they mighty fond of me.

11th. At the office this morning, Sir G. Carteret with us; and we agreed upon a letter to the Duke of York, to tell him the sad condition of this office for want of money; how men are not able to serve us more without some money; and that now the credit

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<sup>1</sup> Lionel.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the same person who had been Envoy from the Protector to the King of Sweden, and is described by Kennett, in September, 1655, as kinsman to his Highness.

<sup>3</sup> In Water Lane, near the Tower.

of the office is brought so low, that none will sell us any thing without our personal security given for the same.

12th. Wednesday, a day kept between a fast and a feast, the Bishops not being ready enough to keep the fast for foule weather before fair weather came; and so they were forced to keep it between both.<sup>1</sup> I to Whitehall, and there with Captain Rolt and Ferrers we went to Lambeth to drink our morning draft, where at the Three Mariners, a place noted for their ale, we went and staid awhile very merry, and so away. Then to White Hall, where I met my Lord, who told me he must have 300*l.* laid out in cloth, to give in Barbary, as presents among the Turkes. At which occasion of getting something I was very glad. Home to supper.

13th. To Alderman Backwell's, but his servants not being up, I went home and put on my gray cloth suit and faced white coate, made of one of my wife's pettycoates, the first time I have had it on, and so in a riding garbe back again and spoke with Mr. Shaw

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<sup>1</sup> A Form of Prayer was published to be used in London on the 12th, and in the country on the 19th of June, being the special days appointed for a general fast to be kept in the respective places for averting those sicknesses and diseases, that dearth and scarcity, which justly may be feared from the late immoderate rain and waters: for a Thanksgiving also for the blessed change of weather; and the begging the continuance of it to us for our comfort: And likewise for beseeching a Blessing upon the High Court of Parliament now assembled: Set forth by his Majesty's authority. A Sermon was preached before the Commons by Thomas Greenfield, Preacher of Lincoln's Inn. The Lords taxed themselves for the poor, — an Earl, 30*s.*; a Baron, 20*s.* Those absent from Prayers were to pay a forfeit.

at the Alderman's, who offers me 300*l.* if my Lord pleases to buy this cloth with, which pleased me well. So to the Wardrobe and got my Lord to order Mr. Creed to imprest<sup>1</sup> so much upon me to be paid by Alderman Backwell. So with my Lord to Whitehall by water, and he having taken leave of the King, comes to us at his lodgings and from thence goes to the garden staires and there takes barge, and at the staires was met by Sir R. Slingsby, who there took his leave of my Lord, and I heard my Lord thank him for his kindness to me, which Sir Robert answered much to my advantage. I went down with my Lord in the barge to Deptford, and there went on board the Dutch yacht and staid there a good while, W. Howe not being come with my Lord's things, which made my Lord very angry. By and by he comes and so we set sayle, and anon went to dinner, my Lord and we very merry; and after dinner I went down below and there sang, and took leave of W. Howe, Captain Rolt, and the rest of my friends, then went up and took leave of my Lord, who give me his hand and parted with great respect. So went and Captain Ferrers with me into our wherry, and my Lord did give five guns, all they had charged, which was the greatest respect my Lord could do me, and of which I was not a little proud. So with a sad and merry heart I left them sailing pleasantly from Erith, hoping to be in the Downes to-morrow early. We

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<sup>1</sup> See note, vol. i. p. 287. (M. B.)



toward London in our boat. Pulled off our stockings and bathed our legs a great while in the river, which I had not done some years before. By and by we come to Greenwich, and thinking to have gone on the King's yacht, the King was in her, so we passed by, and at Woolwich went on shore, and I home and with wine enough in my head, went to bed.

14th. To Whitehall to my Lord's, where I found Mr. Edward Montagu and his family come to lie during my Lord's absence. I sent to my house by my Lord's order his shipp<sup>1</sup> and triangle virginall. So to my father's, and did give him order about the buying of this cloth to send to my Lord. But I could not stay with him myself, for having got a great cold by my playing the fool in the water yesterday I was in great pain and so went home by coach to bed, and by keeping myself warme, I came to some ease.

15th. Dined with my Lady, who, now my Lord is gone, is come to her poor housekeeping again. Then to my father's, who tells me what he has done, and we resolved upon two pieces of scarlet, two of purple, and two of black, and 50*l.* in linen. I home, taking 300*l.* with me home from Alderman Backwell's. I was going to bed, but there coming the Purser of the King's yacht for victuals presently,<sup>2</sup> for the Duke of York is to go down to-morrow, I got him to promise stowage for these things.

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<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* orig., probably the word "glass" was omitted.

<sup>2</sup> *i. e.* immediately. See note, 29th March, 1661. (M. B.)

16th (Lord's day). No purser coming in the morning for the goods, and I hear that the Duke went last night, and so I am at a great losse what to do ; and so this day (though the Lord's day) staid at home, sending Will up and down to know what to do. The afternoon (while Will was abroad) I spent in reading "The Spanish Gypsy,"<sup>1</sup> a play not very good, though commended much. At night resolved to hire a Margate Hoy, who would go away to-morrow morning, which I did, and sent the things all by him.

18th. All this morning at home vexing about the delay of my painters, and about four in the afternoon my wife and I by water to Captain Lambert's, where we took great pleasure in their turret-garden, and seeing the fine needleworks of his wife, the best I ever saw in my life, and afterwards had a very handsome treat and good musique that she made upon the harpsicon, and with a great deal of pleasure staid till 8 at night, and so home again, there being a little pretty witty child that would not let us go without her, and so fell a-crying by the water-side.

19th. One thing I must observe here while I think of it, that I am now become the most negligent man in the world as to matters of newes, insomuch that, now-a-days, I neither can tell any, nor aske any of others.

20th. At home the greatest part of the day to see my workmen make an end, which this night they did to my great content.

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<sup>1</sup> A comedy, by T. Middleton and W. Rowley, printed 1653, and again in 1661.

21st. This morning going to my father's I met him, and so he and I went and drank our morning draft at the Samson in Paul's Churchyard, and eat some gammon of bacon, &c., and then parted, having bought some green Say for curtains in my parler. Mr. Norbury and I did discourse of his wife's house and land at Brampton, which I find too much for me to buy.

22nd. Abroad all the morning. At noon went and dined with my Lord Crew, where very much made of by him and his lady. Then to the Theatre, "The Alchymist,"<sup>1</sup> which is a most incomparable play. And that being done I met with little Luellin and Blirton, who took me to a friend of theirs in Lincoln's Inne fields, one Mr. Hodges, where we drank great store of Rhenish wine and were very merry.

23rd (Lord's day). In the morning to church, and my wife not being well, I went with Sir W. Batten home to dinner, my Lady being out of towne, where there was Sir W. Pen, Captain Allen and his daughter Rebecca, and Mr. Hempson and his wife. After dinner to church all of us and had a very good sermon of a stranger, and so I and the young company to walk first to Graye's Inn Walks, where great store of gallants, but above all the ladies that I there saw, or ever did see, Mrs. Frances Butler<sup>2</sup> (Monsieur L'Impertinent's sister) is the greatest beauty. Then we went to Islington, where at the great house I entertained them as well as I could, and so home with

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<sup>1</sup> By Ben Jonson. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> See July 14, 1660, *ante*.

them, and so to my own home and to bed. Pall, who went this day to a child's christening of Kate Joyce's, staid out all night at my father's, she not being well.

24th (Midsummer-day). We kept this a holiday, and so went not to the office at all. I and Dr. Williams to the ordinary over against the Exchange, where we dined and had great wrangling with the master of the house when the reckoning was brought to us, he setting down exceeding high every thing.

25th. This morning came Mr. Goodgroome to me, with whom I agreed presently to give him 20s. entrance, which I then did, and 20s. a month more to teach me to sing, and so we began, and I hope I have come to something in it. His first song is "La cruda la bella." He gone my brother Tom comes, with whom I made even with my father and the two drapers for the cloths I sent to sea lately. To dine with my Lady at the Wardrobe, taking Dean Fuller along with me ; then home, where I heard my father had been to find me about special business ; so I took coach and went to him, and found by a letter to him from my aunt that my uncle Robert is taken with a dizzinesse in his head, so that they desire my father to come downe to look after his business, by which we guess that he is very ill, and so my father do think to go to-morrow. And so God's will be done.

27th. To my father's. There I told him how I would have him speak to my uncle Robert, when he comes thither, concerning my buying of land, that I

could pay ready money 600*l.* and the rest by 150*l.* per annum, to make up as much as will buy 50*l.* per annum, which I do, though I not worth above 500*l.* ready money, that he may think me to be a greater saver than I am. Then with my Lady Batten, Mrs. Rebecca Allen, Mrs. Thompson, &c., two coaches of us, we went and saw "Bartholomew Fayre" acted very well. So home to bed. This day Mr. Holden sent me a bever, which cost me 4*l.* 5*s.*<sup>1</sup>

28th. At home all the morning practising to sing, which is now my great trade, and at noon to my Lady and dined with her. So back and to the office, and there sat till 7 at night, and then Sir W. Pen and I in his coach went to Moorefields, and there walked, and stood and saw the wrestling, which I never saw so much of before, between the north and west countrymen. So home, and this night had our bed set up in our room that we called the Nursery, where we lay, and I am very much pleased with the room.

29th. By a letter from the Duke complaining of the delay of the ships that are to be got ready, Sir Williams both and I went to Deptford and there examined into the delays, and were satisfied. Mr. Chetwind by chewing of tobacco is become very fat and sallow, whereas he was consumptive. In our discourse he fell commending of "Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity," as the best book, and the only one that

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<sup>1</sup> Whilst a hat (see Jan. 28, 1660-61, *ante*) cost only 35*s.* See also Lord Sandwich's vexation at his beaver being stolen, and a hat only left in lieu of it, April 30, 1661, *ante*: and April 19th and 26th, 1662, *post*.

made him a Christian, which puts me upon the buying of it, which I will do shortly.

30th (Lord's day). To church, where we observe the trade of briefs is come now up to so constant a course every Sunday, that we resolve to give no more to them.<sup>1</sup> Sir Williams both and I to Whitehall, where we met with the Duke of York, according to an order sent us yesterday from him, to give him an account where the fault lay in the not sending out of the ships, which we find to be only the wind hath been against them, and so they could not get out of the river. Here I to Graye's Inn Walk, all alone, and with great pleasure seeing the fine ladies walk there. Myself humming to myself (which now-a-days is my constant practice since I begun to learn to sing) the trillo, and found by use that it do come upon me. This day the Portuguese Embassador<sup>2</sup> came to White Hall to take leave of the King; he being now going to end all with the Queene, and to send her over. Myself in good health, but mighty apt to take cold, so that this hot weather I am fain to wear a cloth before my stomach.

July 1st. This morning I went up and down into

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<sup>1</sup> See "Gent. Mag.," vol. xxiv. p. 353, from original MS. book of "Collections in the Church of St. Olave, Hart Street: June 30, 1661."

"Collected for sevrall inhabitants of the parish of  
St. Dunstan's in the West towards there losse by ffire, } xxii<sup>s</sup>. vii<sup>d</sup>.  
one pound two shillings and seaven pence."

Entries of similar collections in church towards the relief of losses by fire, &c., on the *fourteen* successive Sundays previous to this appeal. (M. B.) Briefs were abolished in 1828.

<sup>2</sup> Don Francisco de Mello, Conde de Ponte.

the city, to buy several things, as I have lately done, for my house. Among other things, a fair chest of drawers for my own chamber, and an Indian gowne for myself. The first cost me 33*s.*, the other 34*s.* Home and dined there, and Theodore Goodgroome, my singing master, with me, and then to our singing.

2nd. To Westminster Hall and there walked up and down, it being Terme time. Spoke with several, among others my cozen Roger Pepys, who was going up to the Parliament House, and inquired whether I had heard from my father, who writes that my uncle is by fits stupid, and like a man that is drunk, and sometimes speechless. Went to Sir William Davenant's <sup>1</sup> Opera; this being the fourth day that it hath begun, and the first that I have seen it. To-day was acted the second part of "The Siege of Rhodes."<sup>2</sup> We staid a very great while for the King and the Queen of Bohemia.<sup>3</sup> And by the breaking of a board over our heads, we had a great deal of dust fell into the ladies' necks and the men's haire, which made good sport. The King being come, the scene opened; which indeed is very fine and magnificent, and well acted, all but the Eunuche, who was so much out that he was hissed off the stage.

3rd. Dined with my Lady, who is in some mourning for her brother, Mr. Saml. Crew, who died yester-

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Davenant, the celebrated dramatic writer, and patentee of the Duke's Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Ob. 1668, aged 64.

<sup>2</sup> Of which Sir W. Davenant was the author.

<sup>3</sup> See May 14, 1660, *ante*.

day of the spotted fever. So home through Duck Lane to inquire for some Spanish books, but found none that pleased me. So to the office. This day my Lady Batten and my wife were at the burial of a daughter of Sir John Lawson's, and had rings for themselves and their husbands.

4th. I went to the theatre, and there I saw "*Clara-cilla*"<sup>1</sup> (the first time I ever saw it), well acted. But strange to see this house, that used to be so thronged, now empty since the Opera begun; and so will continue for a while, I believe.

5th. At home, and in the afternoon to the office, and that being done all went to Sir W. Batten's and there had a venison pasty, and were very merry.

6th. Waked this morning with news, brought me by a messenger on purpose, that my uncle Robert<sup>2</sup> is dead, and died yesterday; so I rose sorry in some respect, glad in my expectations in another respect. So I made myself ready, went and told my uncle Wight, my Lady, and some others thereof, and bought me a pair of boots in St. Martin's, and got myself ready, and then to the Post House and set out about eleven and twelve o'clock, taking the messenger with me that came to me, and so we rode and got well by nine o'clock to Brampton, where I found my father well. My uncle's corps in a coffin standing upon joynt-stooles in the chimney in the hall; but it begun to smell, and so I caused it to be set forth in the yard

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<sup>1</sup> A tragi-comedy by Thomas Killigrew.

<sup>2</sup> Of Brampton, in Huntingdonshire.



all night, and watched by two men. My aunt I found in bed in a most nasty ugly pickle, made me sick to see it. My father and I lay together to-night, I greedy to see the will, but did not aske to see it till to-morrow.

7th (Lord's day). In the morning my father and I walked in the garden and read the will ; where, though he gives me nothing at present till my father's death, or at least very little, yet I am glad to see that he hath done so well for us all, and well to the rest of his kindred. After that done, we went about getting things, as ribbands and gloves, ready for the burial. Which in the afternoon was done ; where, it being Sunday, all people far and near come in ; and in the greatest disorder that ever I saw, we made shift to serve them with what we had of wine and other things ; and then to carry him to the church, where Mr. Taylor buried him, and Mr. Turner preached a funerall sermon, where he spoke not particularly of him anything, but that he was one so well known for his honesty, that it spoke for itself above all that he could say for it. And so made a very good sermon. Home with some of the company who supped there, and things being quiet, at night to bed.

8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th. I fell to work, and my father to look over my uncle's papers and clothes, and continued all this week upon that business, much troubled with my aunt's base, ugly humours. We had news of Tom Trice's putting in a caveat against us, in behalf of his mother, to whom my uncle hath not

given anything, and for good reason therein expressed, which troubled us also. But above all, our trouble is to find that his estate appears nothing as we expected, and all the world believes; nor his papers so well sorted as I would have had them, but all in confusion, that break my brains to understand them. We missed also the surrenders of his copyhold land, without which the land would not come to us, but to the heire at lawe, so that what with this, and the badness of the drink and the ill opinion I have of the meat, and the biting of the gnats by night and my disappointment in getting home this week, and the trouble of sorting all the papers, I am almost out of my wits with trouble, only I appear the more contented, because I would not have my father troubled.

14th (Lord's day). At home, and Robert Barnwell with us, and dined, and in the evening my father and I walked round Portholme and viewed all the fields, which was very pleasant. Then to Hinchingbroke, which is now all in dirt, because of my Lord's building, which will make it very magnificent. Back to Brampton.

15th. Up by three o'clock this morning, and rode to Cambridge, and was there by seven o'clock, where, after I was trimmed, went to Christ College, and found my brother John at eight o'clock in bed, which vexed me. Then to King's College chappell, where I found the scholars in their surplices at the service with the organs, which is a strange sight to what it used in my time to be here. Then with Dr. Fair-

brother (whom I met there) to the Rose taverne, and called for some wine, and sent also for Mr. Sanchy, of Magdalen, with whom and other gentlemen, friends of his, we were very merry, and I treated them as well as I could, and so at noon took horse again, having taken leave of my cozen Angier, and rode to Impington, where I found my old uncle<sup>1</sup> sitting all alone, like a man out of the world : he can hardly see ; but all things else he do pretty livelyly. Then with Dr. John Pepys and him I read over the will, and had their advice therein, who, as to the sufficiency thereof confirmed me, and advised me as to the other parts thereof. Having done there, I rode to Gravely with much ado to inquire for a surrender of my uncle's in some of the copyholders' hands there, but I can hear of none, which puts me into very great trouble of mind, and so with a sad heart rode home to Brampton, but made myself as cheerful as I could to my father, and so to bed.

16th, 17th, 18th, 19th. These four days we spent in putting things in order, letting of the crop upon the ground, agreeing with Stankes to have a care of our business in our absence, and we think ourselves in nothing happy but in lighting upon him to be our bayly ; in riding to Offord and Sturtlow, and up and down all our lands, and in the evening walking my father and I about the fields talking, and had advice from Mr. Moore from London, by my desire, that the

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<sup>1</sup> Talbot Pepys.

three witnesses of the will being all legatees, will not do the will any wrong. To-night Serjeant Bernard, I hear, is come home into the country. My aunt continuing in her base, hypocritical tricks, which both Jane Perkin (of whom we make great use), and the mayde do tell us every day of.

20th. Up to Huntingdon this morning to Sir Robert Bernard, with whom I met Jaspar Trice. So Sir Robert caused us to sit down together and began discourse very fairly between us, so I drew out the Will and show it him, and [he] spoke between us as well as I could desire, but could come to no issue till Tom Trice comes. Here I staid and dined with Sir Robert Bernard<sup>1</sup> and his lady, my Lady Digby, a very good woman. I walked home, and there found Tom Trice come, and he and my father gone to Goody Gorum's, where I found them and Jaspar Trice got before me, and Mr. Greene, and there had some calme discourse, but came to no issue, and so parted.

21st (Lord's day). At home all the morning, putting my papers in order against my going to-morrow. To my business again in the afternoon, and in the evening came the two Trices, Mr. Greene, and Mrs. Philips, and so we began to argue. At last it came to some agreement that for our giving of my aunt £10 she is to quit the house, and for other matters they

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Robert Bernard, Serjeant-at-law, of Huntingdon, cr. Bart. 1662, and ob. 1666. His second wife, here mentioned, was Elizabeth, relict of George Lord Digby, ob. January, 1662.

are to be left to the law, which do please us all, and so we broke up, pretty well satisfied.

22nd. Up by three, and going by four on my way to London; but the day proves very cold, so that having put on no stockings but thread ones under my boots, I was fain at Bigglesworth<sup>1</sup> to buy a pair of coarse woollen ones, and put them on. So by degrees till I come to Hatfield before twelve o'clock, and walked all alone to the Vineyard, which is now a very beautiful place again; and coming back I met with Mr. Looker, my Lord's<sup>2</sup> gardener (a friend of Mr. Eglin's), who showed me the house, the chappell with brave pictures, and, above all, the gardens, such as I never saw in all my life; nor so good flowers, nor so great gooseburys, as big as nutmegs. Back to the inne, and so to horse again, and with much ado got to London. Called at my uncle Fenner's, my mother's, my Lady's, and so home, in all which I found all things as well as I could expect. So weary and to bed.

23rd. Put on my mourning. In the afternoon, finding myself unfit for business, I went to the Theatre, and saw "*Brenoralt*,"<sup>3</sup> I never saw before. It seemed a good play, but ill acted; only I sat before Mrs. Palmer, the King's mistress, and filled my eyes with her, which much pleased me. Troubled to hear how proud and idle Pall is grown, that I am resolved not to keep her.

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<sup>1</sup> Biggleswade.

<sup>2</sup> William Cecil, second Earl of Salisbury.

<sup>3</sup> A tragedy, by Sir John Suckling.

24th. This morning my wife in bed tells me of our being robbed of our silver tankard, which vexed me all day for the negligence of my people to leave the door open. To the Wardrobe, but come too late, so dined with the servants. And then to my Lady, who do shew my wife and me the greatest favour in the world, in which I take great content. Home by water and to the office all the afternoon, which is a great pleasure to me again, to talk with persons of quality and to be in command, and I give it out among them that the estate left me is £200 a year in land, besides moneys, because I would put an esteem upon myself. I hear that my man Will hath lost his clock with my tankard, at which I am very glad.

25th. This morning came my box of papers from Brampton of all my uncle's papers, which will now set me at work enough. At noon I went to the Exchange, where I met my uncle Wight, and found him so discontented about my father (whether that he takes it ill that he has not been acquainted with things, or whether he takes it ill that he has nothing left him, I cannot tell), for which I am much troubled, and so staid not long to talk with him. Thence to my mother's, where I found my wife and my aunt Bell and Mrs. Ramsey, and great store of tattle there was between the old women and my mother, who thinks that there is, God knows what fallen to her, which makes me mad, but it was not a proper time to speak to her of it, and so I went away with Mr.

Moore, and he and I to the Theatre, and saw "The Jovial Crew,"<sup>1</sup> the first time I saw it, and indeed it is as merry and the most innocent play that ever I saw, and well performed. Full of thoughts to think of the trouble that we shall go through before we come to see what will remain to us of all our expectations.

26th. Mr. Hill of Cambridge tells me, that yesterday put a change to the whole state of England<sup>2</sup> as to the Church; for the King now would be forced to favour Presbytery, or that the City would leave him: but I heed not what he says, though upon enquiry I do find that things in the Parliament are in a great disorder. Having the beginning of this week made a vow to myself to drink no wine this week (finding it to unfit me to look after business), and this day breaking of it against my will, I am much troubled for it, but I hope God will forgive me.

27th. To Westminster, where at Mr. Montagu's chamber I heard a Frenchman play, a friend of Monsieur Eschar's, upon the guitar, most extreme well, though at the best methinks it is but a bawble. From thence to Westminster Hall, where it was expected that the Parliament was to have been adjourned for two or three months, but something hinders it for a day or two. In the lobby I spoke with Mr. George Montagu, and advised about a ship to carry my Lord

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<sup>1</sup> A comedy, by Richard Brome.

<sup>2</sup> When the Savoy conference ended, the Royal Commission having expired on that day.

Hinchingbroke and the rest of the young gentlemen to France, and they have resolved of going in a hired vessell from Rye, and not in a man of war. He told me in discourse, that my Lord Chancellor is much envied, and that many great men, such as the Duke of Buckingham and my Lord of Bristoll,<sup>1</sup> do endeavour to undermine him, and that he believes it will not be done ; for that the King (though he loves him not in the way of a companion, as he do these young gallants that can answer him in his pleasures), yet cannot be without him, for his policy and service. From thence to the Wardrobe, where my wife met me, it being my Lord of Sandwich's birthday, and so we had many friends here, Mr. Townsend and his wife, and Captain Ferrer's lady and Captain Isham, and were very merry, and had a good venison pasty. Mr. Pargiter, the merchant, was with us also. After dinner Mr. Townsend was called upon by Captain Cooke : so we three went to a taverne hard by, and there he did give us a song or two ; and without doubt he hath the best manner of singing in the world. Back to my wife, and with my Lady Jem. and Pall by water through bridge, and showed them the ships with great pleasure, and then took them to my house to show it them (my Lady, their mother having been lately all alone to see it and my wife, in my absence in the country), and we treated them well, and were very merry. Then back again through bridge, and set

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<sup>1</sup> George, second Earl of Bristol.



them safe at home, and so my wife and I by coach home again.

28th. To church, and again in the afternoon, and then come home with us Sir W. Pen, and drank with us, and then went away, and my wife after him to see his daughter that is lately come out of Ireland. I staid at home at my book; she came back again and tells me that whereas I expected she should have been a great beauty, she is a very plain girl. This evening my wife gives me all my linen, which I have put up, and intend to keep it now in my own custody.

29th. This morning we began again to sit in the mornings at the office. So home to dinner, and my brother Tom dined with me, and after dinner he and I alone in my chamber had a great deal of talke, and I find that unless my father can forbear to make profit of his house in London and leave it to Tom, he has no mind to set up the trade any where else, and so I know not what to do with him. After this I went with him to my mother, and there told her how things do fall out short of our expectations, which I did (though it be true) to make her leave off her spending, which I find she is now-a-days very free in, building upon what is left to us by my uncle to bear her out in it, which troubles me much. While I was here word is brought that my aunt Fenner is exceeding ill, and that my mother is sent for presently<sup>1</sup> to come to

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<sup>1</sup> Immediately. (M. B.)

her : also that my cozen Charles Glassecocke, though very ill himself, is this day gone to the country to his brother, John Glassecocke, who is a-dying there.

30th. After my singing-master had done with me this morning, I went to White Hall and Westminster Hall, where I found the King expected to come and adjourne the Parliament. I found the two Houses at a great difference, about the Lords challenging their privileges not to have their houses searched, which makes them deny to pass the House of Commons' Bill for searching for pamphlets and seditious books. Thence by water to the Wardrobe (meeting the King upon the water going in his barge to adjourne the House) where I dined with my Lady, and there met Dr. Thomas Pepys, who I found to be a silly talking fellow, but very good-natured. So home to the office, where we met about the business of Tangier this afternoon. To Fleet Street to find when the Assizes begin at Cambridge and Huntingdon, in order to my going to meet with Roger Pepys for counsel. In Fleet Streete I met with Mr. Salisbury, who is now grown in less than two years' time so great a limner that he is become excellent, and gets a great deal of money at it. I took him to Hercules Pillars <sup>1</sup> to drink.

31st. Singing-master came to me this morning ; then to the office all the morning. In the afternoon I went to the Theatre, and there I saw "The Tamer Tamed" well done. And then home, and prepared

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<sup>1</sup> A tavern in Fleet Street.

to go to Walthamstow to-morrow. This night I was forced to borrow £40 of Sir W. Batten.

August 1st. This morning Sir Williams both, and my wife and I, and Mrs. Margarett Pen (this first time that I have seen her since she came from Ireland) went by coach to Walthamstow, a-gossiping to Mrs. Browne, where I did give her six silver spoons<sup>1</sup> for her boy. Here we had a venison pasty, brought hot from London, and were very merry.

2d. I made myself ready to get a-horseback for Cambridge. So I set out and rode to Ware, this night, in the way having much discourse with a fellow-monger, a Quaker, who told me what a wicked man he had been all his life-time till within this two years. Here I lay, and

3rd. Got up early the next morning and got to Barkway, where I staid and drank, and there met with a letter-carrier of Cambridge, with whom I rode all the way to Cambridge, my horse being tired, and myself very wet with rayne. I went to the Castle Hill, where the Judges were at the Assizes; and I staid till Roger Pepys rose and went with him, and dined with his brother, the Doctor, and Claxton at Trinity Hall. Then parted, and I went to the Rose, and there with Mr. Pechell,<sup>2</sup> Sanchy, and others, sat

<sup>1</sup> But not the porringer of silver. See 29th May, 1661. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> John Peachell, Vicar of Stanwick and Prebendary of Carlisle, made Master of Magdalene College 1679, suspended from that office and deprived of the Vice-Chancellorship for refusing to admit Alban Francis, a Benedictine monk, to the degree of Master of Arts without his taking the oaths. He was

and drank till night and were very merry, only they tell me how high the old doctors are in the University over those they found there, though a great deal better scholars than themselves ; for which I am very sorry,

restored by James the Second's letter to the Mastership, Oct. 1688, and died 1690.

A copy of Dr. Peachell's sentence as it was fixt on the publick School Doors and Magdalen College Gates :

" By His Majesties Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes and for the Visitation of the University and of every Collegiate and Cathedral Churches, Colledges, Grammar Schools, Hospitals and other the like Incorporations, or Foundations or Societies.

" Whereas John Peachell, Dr. of Divinity, Vice Chancellour of Cambridge, Master of Magdalen Colledge, in the said University, has been convey'd before us for his disobedience to his Majesties Royal Letters mandatory and other his contempts : and the said Dr. John Peachell having been fully heard thereupon, we have thought fit after mature consideration of the matter to declare, decree and pronounce that the said Dr. John Peachell, shall for the said disobedience and contempt, be deprived from being Vice Chancellour of the said University, and from all power of acting in the same : and also that he be suspended ab officio et beneficio of his Mastership of the said Colledge, during his Majesties pleasure : and accordingly we do by these presents deprive him the said Dr. John Peachell from being Vice Chancellour of the said University and from all power of acting in the same. And we also suspend him ab officio et beneficio of his Mastership of the said Colledge, peremptorily admonishing and requiring him hereby to abstain from the function of Master of the said Colledge, during the said suspension under pain of deprivation from his said Mastership. And we also further order and decree, that the profit and perquisites belonging to his said Mastership, shall during the same suspension be applyed to the use and benefit of the said Colledge.

" Given under our Seal, the 7th day of May 1687.

" Finis."

" I find in the first Lord Dartmouth's manuscript notes on Bishop Burnett's History, that Dr. Peachell afterwards starved himself to death, Archbishop Sancroft having rebuked him for setting an ill example in the University by drunkenness and other loose behaviour. He did penance by four days' abstinence, after which he would have eaten but could not." — From the Master of Magdalene's " private " book. For his *red nose*, which made Pepys ashamed to be seen with him, see Diary, 3rd May, 1667. (M. B.)

and, above all, Dr. Gunning. At night I took horse, and rode with Roger Pepys and his two brothers to Impington, and there with great respect was led up by them to the best chamber in the house, and there slept.

4th (Lord's day). Got up, and by and by walked into the orchard with my cozen Roger, and there plucked some fruit, and then discoursed at large about my uncle's will, in which he did give me good satisfaction, but tells me I shall meet with a great deal of trouble in it. However, in all things he told me what I am to expect and what to do. To church, and had a good plain sermon. At our coming in the country-people all rose with so much reverence; and when the parson begins, he begins "Right worshipfull and dearly beloved" <sup>1</sup> to us. Home to dinner, and then to church again, and, after supper, to talk about publique matters, wherein Roger Pepys told me how basely things have been carried in Parliament by the young men, that did labour to oppose all things that were moved by serious men. That they are the most prophane swearing fellows that ever he heard in his life, which makes him think that they will spoil all, and bring things into a warr again if they can.

5th. Early to Huntingdon, but was fain to stay a great while at Stanton because of the rayne, and there borrowed a coat of a man for 6*d.*, and so he rode all the way, poor man, without any. Staid at Hunting-

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<sup>1</sup> This takes away the originality of Dean Swift's "dearly beloved Roger!"

don for a little, but the judges are not come hither : so I went to Brampton, and there found my father very well, and my aunt gone from the house, which I am glad of, though it costs us a great deal of money, viz., 10*l*. After dinner took horse and rode to Yelling, to my cozen Nightingale's, who hath a pretty house here, and did learn of her all she could tell me concerning my business.

6th. Up early and rode to Huntingdon, where I staid with Thos. Trice and Mr. Philips drinking till noone, and then home to my father, who could discern that I had been drinking, which he did never see or hear of before, so I eat a bit of dinner and then took horse for London, and with much ado, the ways being very bad, got to Baldwick,<sup>1</sup> and there lay and had a good supper by myself. The landlady being a pretty woman, but I durst not take notice of her, her husband being there. Before supper I went to see the church, which is a very handsome church, but I find that both here, and every where else that I come, the Quakers do still continue, and rather grow than lessen.

7th. Called up at three o'clock, and was a-horseback by four ; and as I was eating my breakfast I saw a man riding by that rode a little way upon the road with me last night ; and he being going with venison in his pan-yards to London, I called him in and did give him his breakfast with me, and so we went together

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<sup>1</sup> Baldock.

all the way. At Hatfield we bayted and walked into the great house through all the courts; and I would fain have stolen a pretty dog that followed me, but I could not, which troubled me. To horse again, and by degrees with much ado got to London, where I found all well at home and at my father's and my Lady's, but no newes yet from my Lord where he is.

8th. Early in the morning to Whitehall, but my Lord Privy Seale came not all the morning. To the Wardrobe to dinner. Back again to the Privy Seale; but my Lord comes not all the afternoon, which made me mad and gives all the world reason to talk of his delaying of businesse, as well as of his severity and ill using of the Clerkes of the Privy Seale. In the evening I took Mons. Eschar and Mr. Moore and Dr. Pierce's brother to the taverne next the Savoy. Here I met with Mr. Mage, and discoursing of musique Mons. Eschar spoke so much against the English and in praise of the French that made him mad, and so he went away.

9th. To the office, where I found Sir G. Carteret had a day or two ago invited some of the officers to dinner to-day at Deptford. So at noon, when I heard that he was a-coming, I went out, because I would see whether he would send to me or no to go with them; but he did not, which do a little trouble me till I see how it comes to pass. I to White Hall, where, after four o'clock, comes my Lord Privy Seale,<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> William, first Viscount, and second Baron Say and Sele, made Lord Privy Seal at the Restoration. Ob. April, 1662.

and so we went up to his chamber over the gate at White Hall, where he asked me what deputacon I had from my Lord. I told him none ; but that I am sworn my Lord's deputy by both of the Secretarys, which did satisfye him. So he caused Mr. Moore to read over all the bills, and all ended very well. So that I see the Lyon is not so fierce as he is painted.

10th. This morning came the mayde that my wife hath lately hired for a chamber mayde. She is very ugly, so that I cannot care for her, but otherwise she seems very good. I went to my Lady's and dined with her, and after dinner took the two young gentlemen and the two ladies and carried them and Captain Ferrers to the Theatre, and shewed them "The merry Devill of Edmuntoun,"<sup>1</sup> which is a very merry play, the first time I ever saw it, which pleased me well. And that being done I took them all home by coach to my house and there gave them fruit to eat and wine. So by water home with them, and so home myself.

11th (Lord's day). To our own church in the forenoon, and in the afternoon to Clerkenwell Church, only to see the two fayre Botelers ; and I happened to be placed in the pew where they afterwards came to sit, but the pew by their coming being too full, I went out into the next, and there sat, and had my full view of them both, but I am out of conceit now with

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<sup>1</sup> Anonymous; printed in 1608.



them, Colonel Dillon being come back from Ireland again, and do still court them, and comes to church with them, which makes me think they are not honest. Hence to Graye's-Inn walks, and there staid a good while ; where I met with Ned Pickering, who told me what a great match of hunting of a stag the King had yesterday ; and how the King tired all their horses, and come home with not above two or three able to keep pace with him.

12th. At the office this morning. At home in the afternoon, and had notice that my Lord Hinchinbroke is fallen ill, which I fear is with the fruit that I did give them on Saturday last at my house : so in the evening I went thither and there found him very ill, and in great fear of the small-pox. I supped with my Lady and did consult about him, but we find it best to let him lie where he do ; and so I went home with my heart full of trouble for my Lord Hinchinbroke's sicknesse, and more for my Lord Sandwich's himself, whom we are now confirmed is sick ashore at Alicante, who, if he should miscarry, God knows in what condition would his family be. I dined to-day with my Lord Crew, who is now at Sir H. Wright's, while his new house is making fit for him, and he is much troubled also at these things.

13th. To the Privy Seale in the morning, then to the Wardrobe and found my young Lord very ill. So my Lady intends to send her other three sons, Sidney, Oliver, and John, to my house, for fear of the small-pox. After dinner I went to my father's, and Pali

being there I spoke to my father about my intention not to keep her longer for such and such reasons, which troubled him and me also, and had like to have come to some high words between my mother and me, who is become a very simple woman. Home, and there found my Lady's three sons come, of which I am glad that I am in condition to do her and my Lord any service in this kind, but my mind is yet very much troubled about my Lord of Sandwich's health, which I am afeard of.

14th. This morning Sir W. Batten, and Sir W. Pen and I, waited upon the Duke of York in his chamber, to give him an account of the condition of the Navy for lack of money, and how our own very bills are offered upon the Exchange, to be sold at 20 in the 100 loss. He is much troubled at it, and will speak to the King and Council of it this morning. So I went to my Lady's and dined with her, and found my Lord Hinchingbroke somewhat better. After dinner Captain Ferrers and I to the Theatre, and there saw "The Alchymist;" and there I saw Sir W. Pen, who took me when the play was done to the Dolphin, but not finding Sir W. Batten there, we went and carried a bottle of wine to his house, and there sat a while and talked, and so home to bed. At home I found a letter from Mr. Creed of the 15th of July last, that tells me that my Lord is rid of his pain (which was wind got into the muscles of his right side) and his fever, and is now in hopes to go abroad in a day or two, which do give me mighty great comfort.

15th. To the Privy Seale and Whitehall, and at noon Sir W. Pen carried me to Paul's, and so I walked to the Wardrobe and dined with my Lady, and there told her of my Lord's sicknesse (of which though it hath been the town-talk this fortnight, she had heard nothing<sup>1</sup>) and recovery, of which she was glad, though hardly persuaded of the latter. I found my Lord Hinchingbroke better and better, and the worst past. Thence to the Opera, which begins again to-day with "The Witts,"<sup>2</sup> never acted yet with scenes; and the King and Duke and Duchesse were there (who dined to-day with Sir H. Finch, reader at the Temple, in great state); and indeed it is a most excellent play, and admirable scenes. So home and was overtaken by Sir W. Pen in his coach. So I followed him to the Dolphin, where Sir W. Batten was, and there we sat awhile, and so home after we had made shift to fuddle Mr. Falconer of Woolwich.

16th. At the office all the morning, though little to do; because all our clerkes are gone to the buriall of Tom Whitton, one of the Controller's clerkes, a very ingenious, and a likely young man to live, as any in the Office. But it is such a sickly time both in City and country every where (of a sort of fever), that never was heard of almost, unless it was in a plague-

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<sup>1</sup> So of the Emperor Claudius :

"Dabitur mora parvula dum res  
Nota urbi et populo contingat Principis aures.  
Dedecus ille domus sciet ultimus."

Juv. *Sat.* x. 340. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> A comedy, by Sir W. Davenant.

time. Among others, the famous Tom Fuller<sup>1</sup> is dead of it; and Dr. Nichols,<sup>2</sup> Dean of Paul's; and my Lord General Monk is very dangerously ill. Dined at home with the children and were merry. I understand my Aunt Fenner is upon the point of death.

17th. At the Privy Seale, where we had a seale this morning. Then met with Ned Pickering, and walked with him into St. James's Park (where I had not been a great while), and there found great and very noble alterations. And, in our discourse, he was very forward to complain and to speak loud of the lewdnesse and beggary of the Court, which I am sorry to hear, and which I am afeard will bring all to ruin again. I to the Opera, and saw "The Witts" again, which I like exceedingly. The Queene of Bohemia was here, brought by my Lord Craven.<sup>3</sup> So Captain Ferrers and I and another to the Devil taverne and drank, and so by coach home. Troubled in mind that I cannot bring myself to mind my business, but to be so much in love of plays. We have been at a great loss a great while for a vessel that I sent about a month ago with things of my Lord's to Lynn, and

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<sup>1</sup> D.D., Author of the "Worthies of England," Chaplain to the King, and Prebendary of Salisbury.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew Nicholas, D.D., installed Dean of St. Paul's, July, 1660. Ob. August 14, 1661. He was brother to Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State.

<sup>3</sup> William, first Earl of Craven, a Privy Councillor, and Colonel of the Coldstream Guards; supposed to be married to the Queen of Bohemia. Ob. 1697, aged 88.

cannot till now hear of them, but now we are told that they are put into Seale Bay, but to what purpose I know not.

18th (Lord's day). To our own church in the morning and so home to dinner, where my father and Dr. Tom Pepys came to me to dine, and were very merry. After dinner I took my wife and Mr. Sidney to my Lady to see my Lord Hinchingbroke, who is now pretty well again, and sits up and walks about his chamber. So I went to White Hall, and there hear that my Lord General Monk continues very ill: so I went to la belle Pierce and sat with her; and then to walk in St. James's Park, and saw a great variety of fowle which I never saw before. At night fell to read in "Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity," which Mr. Moore did give me last Wednesday very handsomely bound; and which I shall read with great pains and love for his sake.

19th. I am sent for to the Privy Seale, and there I found a thing of my Lord Chancellor's<sup>1</sup> to be sealed this afternoon, and so I am forced to go to Worcester

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<sup>1</sup> This "thing" was probably one of those large grants which Clarendon quietly, or, as he himself says, "without noise or scandal," procured from the King. Besides lands and manors, Clarendon states at one time that the King gave him a "little billet into his hand, that contained a warrant of his own handwriting to Sir Stephen Fox to pay to the Chancellor the sum of 20,000*l.*, of which nobody could have notice." In 1662, he received 25,000*l.* out of the money voted to the King by the Parliament of Ireland, as he mentions in his vindication of himself against the impeachment of the Commons: and we shall see that Pepys, in February, 1664, names another sum of 20,000*l.* given to the Chancellor to clear *the* mortgage upon Clarendon Park; and this last sum, it was believed, was paid from the money received from France by the sale of Dunkirk.

House, where severall Lords are met in Council this afternoon. And while I am waiting there, in comes the King in a plain common riding-suit and velvet cap, in which he seemed a very ordinary man to one that had not known him. Here I staid till at last, hearing that my Lord Privy Seale had not the seale here, Mr. Moore and I hired a coach and went to Chelsy, and there at an alehouse sat and drank and past the time till my Lord Privy Seale came to his house, and so we to him and examined and sealed the thing, and so homewards, but when we came to look for our coach we found it gone, so we were fain to walk home afoot and saved our money. We met with a companion that walked with us, and coming among some trees near the Neate<sup>1</sup> houses, he began to whistle, which did give us some suspicion, but it proved that he that answered him was Mr. Marsh

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<sup>1</sup> "The Neat Houses are a parcel of houses most seated on the banks of the river Thames and inhabited by gardeners, for which it is of note for the supplying London and Westminster markets with Asparagus, Artichoaks, Cauliflowers, Musk-melons, and the like useful things." — STRVPE, b. vi. p. 67.

Edward VI. granted the house called the Neate, and all the site, &c., situated in the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, to Sir Anthony Browne. There are some houses still called the Neate Houses, situated near the water side, in that part of Chelsea which lies in the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, and was formerly part of St. Martin's.

"The xiiij of Maie 1621. To the iiij Bearers for bringing the drowned woman from the Thames neare the Neate house, iiiid." — Accounts of the Overseers of St. Martin's in the Fields. LYSONS'S *Environs*, vol. ii. p. 181.

"We hear that Madam Ellen Gwyn's mother sitting lately by the water side at her house by the Neate Houses, near Chelsea, fell accidentally into the water and was drowned." — *Domestic Intelligencer*, August 5th, 1679. CUNNINGHAM, *Handbook of London*, vol. ii. p. 580. (M. B.)

(the Lutenist) and his wife, and so we all walked to Westminster together, in our way drinking a while at my cost, and had a song of him, but his voice is quite lost. So walked home, and there I found that my Lady do keep the children at home, and lets them not come any more hither at present, which a little troubles me to lose their company. This day my aunt Fenner dyed.

20th. This day we come to some agreement with Sir R. Ford for his house to be added to the office to enlarge our quarters.

21st. To Will. Joyce's and to an alehouse, and drank a good while together, he being very angry that his father Fenner will give him and his brother no more for mourning than their father did give him and my aunt at their mother's death, and a very troublesome fellow I still find him to be, that his company ever wearys me. I understand by Mr. Moore that my Lady Sandwich is brought to bed yesterday of a young Lady, and is very well. We went to Mrs. Terry, a daughter of Mr. Whately's, who lately offered a proposal of her sister for a wife for my brother Tom, and so to Mrs. Whately's, and there were well received, and she desirous to have the thing go forward, only is afeard that her daughter is too young and portion not big enough, but offers 200*l*. down with her. The girle is very well favoured, and a very child, but modest, and one I think will do very well for my brother: so parted till she hears from Hatfield from her husband, who is there; but I find

them very desirous of it, and so am I. Hence home to my father's, and I to the Wardrobe, where I supped with the ladies,<sup>1</sup> and hear their mother is well and the young child.

22nd. To the Privy Seale, and sealed ; so home at noon, and there took my wife by coach to my uncle Fenner's, where there was both at his house and the Sessions, great deal of company, but poor entertainment, which I wonder at ; and the house so hot, that my uncle Wight, my father and I were fain to go out, and stay at an alehouse awhile to cool ourselves. Then back again and to church, my father's family being all in mourning, doing him the greatest honour, the world believing that he did give us it : so to church, and staid out the sermon, and then with my aunt Wight, my wife, and Pall and I to her house by coach, and there staid and supped upon a Westphalia ham, and so home and to bed.

23rd. This morning I went to my father's, and there found him and my mother in a discontent, which troubles me much, and indeed she is become very simple and unquiet. So to W. Joyce's, where by appointment my wife was, and I took her to the Opera, and shewed her "The Witts," which I had seen already twice, and was most highly pleased with it.

24th. At the office all the morning and did business ; by and by we are called to Sir W. Batten's to

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<sup>1</sup> Montagu.



see the strange creature that Captain Holmes hath brought with him from Guiny; it is a great baboon, but so much like a man in most things, that though they say there is a species of them, yet I cannot believe but that it is a monster got of a man and she-baboon. I do believe that it already understands much English, and I am of the mind it might be taught to speak or make signs. To the Opera, and there saw "Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke," done with scenes very well, but above all, Betterton did the Prince's part beyond imagination.

25th (Lord's day). At church in the morning, and dined at home with my wife very comfortably, and so again to church with her, and had a very good and pungent sermon of Mr. Mills, discoursing the necessity of restitution. Home, and I found my Lady Batten and her daughter to look something askew upon my wife, because my wife do not buckle to them, and is not solicitous for their acquaintance, which I am not troubled at at all. By and by comes in my father, who intends to go into the country to-morrow, and he and I among other discourse at last called Pall up to us, and there in great anger I told her before my father that I would keep her no longer, and my father he said he would have nothing to do with her. At last, after we had brought down her high spirit, I got my father to yield that she should go into the country with my mother and him, and stay there awhile to see how she will demean herself. That being done, my father and I to my uncle Wight's,

and there supped, and I home, my mind at some rest upon this making an end with Pall, who do trouble me exceedingly.

26th. This morning before I went out I made even with my mayde Jane, who has this day been my mayde three years, and is this day to go into the country to her mother. The poor girle cried, and I could hardly forbear weeping to think of her going, for though she be grown lazy and spoilt by Pall's coming, yet I shall never have one to please us better in all things, and so harmless, while I live. So I paid her her wages and gave her 2*s.* 6*d.* over, and bade her adieu, with my mind full of trouble at her going. Hence to my father, where he and I and Thomas together setting things even, and casting up my father's accounts, and upon the whole I find that all he hath in money of his owne due to him in the world is but 45*l.*, and he owes about the same summe : so that I cannot but think in what a condition he had left my mother if he should have died before my uncle Robert. Thence to the Theatre, and saw the "*Antipodes*,"<sup>1</sup> wherein there is much mirth, but no great matter else. Hence with Mr. Bostock to the Devil taverne, and there drank and so away. I to my uncle Fenner's, where my father was with him at an alehouse, and so we three went by ourselves and sat talking a great while about a broker's daughter that he do propose for a wife for Tom, with a great portion, but I fear it will not take,

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<sup>1</sup> A comedy, by Richard Brome.

but he will do what he can. I found a letter from my Lord Sandwich, who is now very well again of his feaver, but not yet gone from Alicante, where he lay sick, and was twice let blood. This letter dated the 22nd July last, which puts me out of doubt of his being ill.

27th. This morning to the Wardrobe, and there took leave of my Lord Hinchingbroke and his brother, and saw them go out by coach toward Rye in their way to France, whom God blesse. Then I was called up to my Lady's bedside, where we talked an houre about Mr. Edward Montagu's disposing of the 5000*l.* for my Lord's departure for Portugal, and our fears that he will not do it to my Lord's honour, and less to his profit, which I am to enquire a little after. Hence to the office, and there sat till noon, and then my wife and I by coach to my cozen, Thos. Pepys, the Executor, to dinner, where some ladies and my father and mother, where very merry, but methinks he makes but poor dinners for such guests, though there was a poor venison pasty. Hence my wife and I to the theatre, and there saw "The Joviall Crew,"<sup>1</sup> where the King, Duke and Duchesse, and Madame Palmer, were; and my wife, to her great content, had a full sight of them all the while. The play full of mirth. Hence to my father's. In my way and at home, my wife making a sad story to me of her brother Balty's condition, and would have me to do

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<sup>1</sup> Or the "Merry Beggars," a Comedy, by Richard Brome.

something for him, which I shall endeavour to do, but am afeard to meddle therein for fear I shall not be able to wipe my hands of him again, when I once concern myself for him.

28th. At home all the morning setting papers in order. This day I counterfeited a letter to Sir W. Pen, as from the thiefe that stole his tankard lately, only to abuse and laugh at him.

29th. At the office all the morning, and at noon my father, mother, and my aunt Bell come to dine with me, and we were very merry. Mr. Evans, the taylor, whose daughter we have had a mind to get for a wife for Tom, told us that he hath not to except against us or our motion, but that the estate that God hath blessed him with is too great to give where there is nothing in present possession but a trade and house ; and so we friendly ended.

30th. At noon my wife and I met at the Wardrobe, and there dined with the children, and after dinner up to my Lady's bedside, and talked and laughed a good while. Then my wife and I to Drury Lane to the French comedy, which was so ill done, and the scenes and company and every thing else so nasty and out of order and poor, that I was sick all the while in my mind to be there. Here my wife met with a son of my Lord Somerset,<sup>1</sup> whom she knew in France,

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<sup>1</sup> Lord John Somerset, second son of the first Marquis of Worcester, had himself three sons, Henry, Thomas, and Charles, but it is uncertain which is here meant. There was no other Lord Somerset to whom the passage could apply. It was probably Thomas, as the other brothers were married.

a pretty man ; I showed him no great countenance, to avoyd further acquaintance. That done, there being nothing pleasant but the foolery of the farce, we went home.

31st. At home and the office all the morning, and at noon comes Luellin to me, and he and I to Bartholomew fair, and there upon his motion to a pitiful alehouse, and then I back again to the fair all alone, and there met with my Ladies Jemimah and Paulina, with Mr. Pickering and Madamoiselle,<sup>1</sup> at seeing the monkeys dance, which was much to see, when they could be brought to do so, but it troubled me to sit among such nasty company. After that with them into Christ's Hospitall, and there Mr. Pickering bought them some fairings, and I did give every one of them a bauble, which was the little globes of glass with things hanging in them, which pleased the ladies very well. After that home with them in their coach, and there was called up to my Lady, and she would have me stay to talk with her, which I did I think a full houre. And the poor lady did with so much innocency tell me how Mrs. Crispe had told her that she did intend, by means of a lady that lies at her house, to get the King to be godfather to the young lady that she is in childbed now of ; but to see in what a manner my Lady told it me, protesting that she sweat in the very telling of it, was the greatest pleasure to me in the world to see the simplicity and harmlesnesse

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<sup>1</sup> The young ladies' governess.

of a lady. Then down to supper with the ladies, and so home.

Thus ends the month. My mayde Jane newly gone, and Pall<sup>1</sup> left now to do all the work till another mayde comes, which shall not be till she goes away into the country with my mother. Myself and wife in good health. My father gone to settle at Brampton, and myself under much business and trouble for to settle things in the estate to our content. But what is worst, I find myself lately too much given to seeing of plays, and expense, and pleasure, which makes me forget my business, which I must labour to amend. No money comes in, so that I have been forced to borrow a great deal for my own expenses, and to furnish my father, to leave things in order. I have some trouble about my brother Tom, who is now left to keep my father's trade, in which I have great fears that he will miscarry for want of brains and care. At Court things are in very ill condition, there being so much emulation, poverty, and the vices of drinking, swearing, and loose amours, that I know not what will be the end of it, but confusion. And the Clergy so high, that all people that I meet with do protest against their practice. In short, I see no content or satisfaction any where, in any one sort of people. The Benevolence<sup>2</sup> proves so little and an occasion of so much discontent every where, that it had better it had never

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<sup>1</sup> Paulina Pepys.

<sup>2</sup> A voluntary contribution made by the subjects to their Sovereign. Upon this occasion the clergy alone gave 33,743*l*. See 31st May, 1661, *ante*.

been set up. I think to subscribe 20*l*. We are at our Office quiet, only for lack of money all things go to rack. Our very bills offered to be sold upon the Exchange at 10 per cent. loss. We are upon getting Sir R. Ford's house added to our Office. But I see so many difficulties will follow in pleasing of one another in the dividing of it, and in becoming bound personally to pay the rent of 200*l*. per annum, that I do believe it will yet scarce come to pass. The season very sickly every where of strange and fatal fevers.

September 1st (Lord's day). Last night being very rainy [the rain] broke into my house, the gutter being stopped, and spoiled all my ceilings almost. At church in the morning. After dinner to Sir W. Batten's, where I found Sir W. Pen, and we were very merry with Sir W. Pen about the loss of his tankard, though all be but a cheate, and he do not yet understand it; but the tankard was stole by Sir W. Batten, and the letter, as from the thiefe, wrote by me, which makes very good sport. Captain Holmes and I by coach to White Hall; in our way, I found him by discourse, to be a great friend of my Lord's, and he told me there was many did seek to remove him; but they were old seamen, such as Sir J. Minnes<sup>1</sup> (but he would name

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<sup>1</sup> John Mennes, or Minnes, born at Sandwich in 1598, educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, became afterwards a great traveller and noted seaman: he held a place in the Navy Office during the reigns of the two elder Stuarts, and was knighted at Dover, in 1641, by Charles I. Adhering to the royal cause, he was, after the Restoration, appointed Governor of Dover Castle, and commanded the "Henry," as a Vice-Admiral, in the fleet that brought Catherine of Braganza to England. Subsequently he was ~~made~~

no more, though he do believe Sir W. Batten is one of them that do envy him), but he says he knows that the King do so love him, and the Duke of York too, that there is no fear of him. He seems to be very well acquainted with the King's mind, and with all the several factions at Court, and spoke all with so much franknesse, that I do take him to be my Lord's good friend, and one able to do him great service, being a cunning fellow, and one (by his own confession to me) that can put on two several faces, and look his enemies in the face with as much love as his friends. But, good God ! what an age is this, and what a world is this ! that a man cannot live without playing the knave and dissimulation.

2nd. To Westminster Hall with Captain Ferrers, where we met with Mr. Pickering, and so all of us to the Rhenish wine house, where the master of the house is laying out some money in making a cellar with an arch in his yard, which is very convenient for him, and so Mr. Pickering and I to Westminster Hall again, and there walked an houre or two talking, and though he be a fool, yet he keeps much company, and will tell all he sees or hears, and so a man may understand what the common talk of the town is, and I find by him that there are endeavours to get my

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Comptroller of the Navy, which office he retained till his death, in 1670-1. He is buried in the church of St. Olave, Hart Street, where, in the south aisle, part of a monument to his memory is still to be seen. Wood describes him as an honest and stout man, generous and religious, well skilled in physic and chymistry, and the author of "*Musarum Deliciæ*," and other poems.



Lord out of play at sea, which I believe Mr. Coventry and the Duke do think will make them more absolute ; but I hope, for all this, they will not be able to do it. He tells me plainly of the vices of the Court. From him by water to the bridge, and thence to the Mitre, where I met my uncle and aunt Wight, and so I staid with them, very merry, and so home, where my wife has been busy all day making of pies, and had been abroad and bought things for herself, and tells me that she met at the Change with my young ladies of the Wardrobe, and there helped them to buy things, and also with Mr. Somersett, who did give her a bracelet of rings; which did a little trouble me, though I know there is no hurt yet in it, but only for fear of further acquaintance. So to bed. This night I sent another letter to Sir W. Pen to offer him the return of his tankard upon his leaving of 30s. at a place where it should be brought. The issue of which I am to expect.

3rd. This day some of us Commissioners went down to Deptford to pay off some ships, but I could not go. Dined at home, and then with my wife to the Wardrobe, where my Lady's child was christened (my Lord Crew and his Lady, and my Lady Montagu, my Lord's mother-in-law, were the witnesses), and named Katherine<sup>1</sup> (the Queen elect's name) ; but to

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<sup>1</sup> Lady Catherine Montagu, youngest daughter of Lord Sandwich, married, first, Nicholas Bacon, eldest son and heir of Sir Nicholas Bacon, K.B., of Shrubland Hall, co. Suffolk; and, secondly, the Rev. Balthazar Gardeman. She died January 15, 1757, æt. 96 years, 4 months. — *M. I.*

my and all our trouble, the Parson of the parish christened her, and did not sign the child with the sign of the cross. After that was done, we had a very fine banquet, the best I ever was at, and so we by and by broke up, and my wife and I to my mother, who I took a liberty to advise about her getting things ready to go this week into the country to my father, and she (being become now-a-days very simple) took it very ill, and we had a great deal of noise and wrangling about it. So home by coach.

4th. In the morning to the Privy Seale. Then my wife came to me to Whitehall, and we went and walked a good while in St. James's Parke to see the brave alterations, and so to Wilkinson's, the Cook's, to dinner, where we had oysters, the first I have eat this year, and were pretty good.

5th. To the Privy Seale this morning about business, in my way taking leave of my mother, who goes to Brampton to-day. But doing my business at the Privy Seale pretty soon, I took boat and went to my uncle Fenner's, and there I found my mother and my wife and Pall (of whom I had this morning at my own house taken leave, and given her 20s. and good counsel how to carry herself to my father and mother), and so I took them and put them into the waggon, and saw them going presently. To my uncle Fenner's to dinner, in the way meeting a French footman<sup>1</sup> with feathers, who was in quest of my wife, and

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<sup>1</sup> Apparently a servant of Mr. Somerset's.

spoke with her privately, but I could not tell what it was, only my wife promised to go to some place to-morrow morning, which do trouble my mind how to know whither it was. My wife and I to the fayre, and I showed her the Italians dancing the ropes, and the women that do strange tumbling tricks.

6th. This morning my uncle Fenner by appointment came and drank his morning draft with me, my wife holding her resolution to go this morning as she resolved yesterday, and though there could not be much hurt in it, yet my own jealousy put a hundred things into my mind, which did much trouble me all day. To dinner all alone, and thence my mind being for my wife's going abroad much troubled and unfit for business, I went to the Theatre, and saw "Elder Brother" ill acted; that done, meeting here with Sir G. Askew, Sir Theophilus Jones,<sup>1</sup> and another Knight, with Sir W. Pen, we to the Ship taverne, and there staid and were merry till late at night, and so got a coach, and Sir Wm. and I home, where my wife had been long come home, but I seemed very angry, as indeed I am, and did not all night show her any countenance, and so slept and rose discontented.

7th. At the office all the morning. At noon Mr. Moore dined with me, and so I having appointed the young ladies<sup>2</sup> at the Wardrobe to go with them to a play to-day, my wife and I took them to the theatre,

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Theophilus Jones had represented the county of Dublin in Parliament, and served as a colonel in the Commonwealth army.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Sandwich's family of daughters.

where we seated ourselves close by the King, and Duke of York, and Madame Palmer, which was great content ; and, indeed, I can never enough admire her beauty. And here was “*Bartholomew Fayre*,”<sup>1</sup> with the puppet-showe, acted to-day, which had not been these forty years (it being so satyricall against Puritanism, they durst not till now, which is strange they should already dare to do it, and the King do countenance it), but I do never a whit like it the better for the puppets, but rather the worse. Thence home with the ladies, it being by reason of our staying a great while for the King’s coming, and the length of the play, near nine o’clock before it was done.

8th (Lord’s day). To church, dined at home, and so to church again with my wife in the afternoon, and coming home again found our new mayde Doll asleep, that she could not hear to let us in, so that we were fain to send the boy in at a window to open the door to us. So up to my chamber all alone, and troubled in mind to think how much of late I have addicted myself to expense and pleasure, that now I can hardly reclaime myself. I pray God give me grace to begin now to look after my business, but it always was, and I fear will ever be, my foible that after I am once got behindhand with business, I am hard to set to it again to recover it. In the evening I begun to look over my accounts, and upon the whole I do find myself, by what I can yet see, worth near 600*l.*, for

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<sup>1</sup> A Comedy, by Ben Jonson ; first acted in 1614.

which God be blessed, which put me into great comfort. So to supper and to bed.

9th. To the Privy Seale in the morning, but my Lord did not come, so I went with Captain Morrice at his desire into the King's Privy Kitchen to Mr. Sayres, the Master Cooke, and there we had a good slice of beef or two to our breakfast, and from thence he took us into the wine cellar where, by my troth, we were very merry, and I drank so much wine that I was not fit for business, and therefore at noon I went and walked in Westminster Hall a while, and thence to Salisbury Court play house, where was acted the first time "'Tis pity Shee's a W—e,"<sup>1</sup> a simple play and ill acted, only it was my fortune to sit by a most pretty and most ingenious lady, which pleased me much. To the Dolphin to drink the 30s. that we got the other day of Sir W. Pen about his tankard. Here was Sir R. Slingsby, Holmes, Captn. Allen, Mr. Turner, his wife and daughter, my Lady Batten, and Mrs. Martha, &c., and an excellent company of fiddlers; so we exceeding merry till late; and then we begun to tell Sir W. Pen the business, but he had been drinking to-day, and so is almost gone, that we could not make him understand it, which caused us more sport.

10th. At the office all the morn, dined at home, and so to the Wardrobe to see my Lady, and after supper with the young ladies, bought a linke and carried it myself till I met one that would light me home

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<sup>1</sup> A tragedy, by John Forde.

for the linke. So he light me home with his own, and then I did give him mine.

11th. To Dr. Williams, who did carry me into his garden, where he hath abundance of grapes ; and he did show me how a dog that he hath do kill all the cats that come thither to kill his pigeons, and do afterwards bury them ; and do it with so much care that they shall be quite covered ; that if but the tip of the tail hangs out he will take up the cat again, and dig the hole deeper. Which is very strange ; and he tells me that he do believe that he hath killed above 100 cats. Home to my house to dinner, where I found my wife's brother, Balty,<sup>1</sup> as fine as hands could make him, and his servant, a Frenchman, to wait on him, and come to have my wife to visit a young lady which he is a servant to, and have hope to trepan and get for his wife. I did give way for my wife to go with him. Walking through Lincoln's Inn Fields observed at the Opera a new play, "Twelfth Night," was acted there, and the King there ; so I, against my own mind and resolution, could not forbear to go in, which did make the play seem a burthen to me, and I took no pleasure at all in it ; and so after it was done went home with my mind troubled for my going thither, after my swearing to my wife that I would never go to a play without her. So that what with this and things going so crosse to me as to matters of my uncle's estate, makes me very much troubled in

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<sup>1</sup> Balthazar St. Michel.

my mind, and so to bed. My wife was with her brother to see his mistress to-day, and says she is young, rich, and handsome, but not likely for him to get.

12th. To my Lady's to dinner at the Wardrobe; and in my way upon the Thames, I saw the King's new pleasure-boat that is come now for the King to take pleasure in above bridge; and also two Gundaloes<sup>1</sup> that are lately brought, which are very rich and fine. To Tom Trice; by and by in comes my uncle Thomas, and as he was always a close cunning fellow, so he carries himself to me, and says nothing of what his endeavours are, though to my trouble I know that he is about recovering of Gravely, but neither I nor he began any discourse of the business. From thence to Dr. Williams (at the little blind ale-house in Shoe Lane, at the Gridiron, a place I am ashamed to be seen to go into), and there with some bland counsel of his we discuss our matters, but I find men of so different minds that by my troth I know not what to trust to. It being late I took leave, and by linke home and called at Sir W. Batten's, and there hear that Sir W. Pen do take our jest of the tankard very ill, which I am sorry for.

13th. This morning I was sent for by my uncle

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<sup>1</sup> "Two long boats that were made in Venice, called gondolas, were by the Duke of Venice (Dominico Contareni), presented to His Majesty; and the attending watermen, being four, were in very rich clothes, crimson satin; very big were their breeches and doublets; they wore also very large shirts of the same satin, very richly laced." — RUGGE's *Diurnal*.

Fenner to come and advise about the buriall of my aunt,<sup>1</sup> the butcher, who died yesterday; and from thence to the Anchor, by Doctor's Commons, and there Dr. Williams and I did write a letter for my purpose to Mr. Sedgewicke, of Cambridge, about Gravely business, and after that I left him and went to the Wardrobe, where I found my wife, and thence she and I to the water to spend the afternoon in pleasure; and so we went to old George's, and there eat as much as we would of a hot shoulder of mutton, and so to boat again and home.

14th. At the office all the morning, at noon to the Change, and then home again. To dinner, where my uncle Fenner by appointment came and dined with me, thinking to go together to my aunt Kite's that is dead; but before we had dined comes Sir R. Slingsby and his lady, and a great deal of company, to take my wife and I out by barge to shew them the King's and Duke's yachts, and we had great pleasure, seeing all four yachts, viz., these two and the two Dutch ones. And so home again, and after writing letters by post, to bed.

15th (Lord's day). To my aunt Kite's in the morning to help my uncle Fenner to put things in order against anon for the buriall, and at noon home again; and after dinner to church, my wife and I, and after sermon with my wife to the buriall of my aunt Kite, where besides us and my uncle Fenner's family, there

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Kite.



was none of any quality, but poor rascally people. So we went to church with the corps, and there had service read at the grave, and back again with Pegg Kite, who will be, I doubt, a troublesome carrion<sup>1</sup> to us executors; but if she will not be ruled, I shall fling up my executorship.

16th. This morning I was busy at home to take in my part of our freight of Coles, which Sir G. Carteret, Sir R. Slingsby, and myself sent for, which is 10 Chaldrôn, 8 of which I took in, and with the other to repay Sir W. Pen what I borrowed of him a little while ago. So that from this day I should see how long 10 chaldron of coals will serve my house, if it please the Lord to let me live to see them burned. Word was brought me from my brother's that there is a fellow come from my father out of the country, which I believed, but I afterwards found that it was a rogue that did use to play such tricks to get money of people, but he got none of me. Home, and there found letters from my father informing me of the Court,<sup>2</sup> and that I must come down and meet him at Impington, which I presently resolved to do, and

17th. The next morning got up, telling my wife of my journey, and she with a few words got me to hire her a horse to go along with me. So I went to my Lady's and elsewhere to take leave, and of Mr. Town-

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<sup>1</sup> A fling at the butcher's trade.

<sup>2</sup> The manorial Court of Graveley, in Huntingdonshire, to which Impington owed suit or service, and under which the Pepys's copyhold estates were held. See July 8, 1661, *ante*.

send did borrow a very fine side-saddle for my wife ; and so after all things were ready, she and I took coach to the end of the towne towards Kingsland, and there got upon my horse and she upon her pretty mare that I hired for her, and she rides very well. By the mare at one time falling she got a fall, but no harm ; so we got to Ware, and there supped, and to bed very merry and pleasant.

17th. The next morning up early and begun our march ; the way about Puckridge very bad, and my wife, in the very last dirty place of all, got a fall, but no hurt, though some dirt. At last she begun, poor wretch, to be tired, and I to be angry at it, but I was to blame ; for she is a very good companion as long as she is well. In the afternoon we got to Cambridge, where I left my wife at my cozen Angier's while I went to Christ's College, and there found my brother in his chamber, and talked with him ; and so to the barber's, and then to my wife again, and remounted for Impington, where my uncle received me and my wife very kindly.

19th. Up early, and my father and I alone in the garden, and there talked about our business, and then we all horsed away to Cambridge, where my father and I, having left my wife at the Beare with my brother, went to Mr. Sedgewicke, the steward of Gravely, and there talked with him, but could get little hopes from anything that he would tell us ; but at last I did give him a fee, and then he was free to tell me what I asked, which was something, though

not much comfort. From thence to our horses, and with my wife went and rode through Sturbridge fayre, but the fayre was almost done. So we did not light there at all, but went back to Cambridge, and there at the Beare had some herrings, we and my brother, and after dinner set out for Brampton, where we come in very good time.

20th. Will Stankes and I set out in the morning betimes for Gravely, where to an alehouse and drank, and then, going towards the Court House, met my uncle Thomas and his son Thomas, with Bradly, the rogue that had betrayed us, and one Young, a cunning fellow, who guides them. There passed no unkind words at all between us, but I seemed fair and went to drink with them. I said little till by and by that we come to the Court, which was a simple meeting of a company of country rogues, with the Steward, and two Fellows of Jesus College, that are lords of the towne where the jury were sworne; and I producing no surrender, though I told them I was sure there is and must be one somewhere, they found my uncle Thomas heire at law,<sup>1</sup> as he is, and so my uncle was admitted, and his son also, in reversion. The uncle paid a year and a half for his fine, and the son half a year, in all 48*l.*, besides about 3*l.* fees; so that I do believe the charges of his journeys, and what he gives those two rogues, and other expenses herein, cannot be less than 70*l.*, which will be a sad thing for them

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<sup>1</sup> To Robert Pepys, of Brampton.

if a surrender be found. After all was done, I openly wished them joy in it, and so rode to Offord with them and there parted fairly without any words. So with Stankes home and supped, and after telling my father how things went, I went to bed with my mind in good temper, because I see the matter and manner of the Court and the bottom of my business, wherein I was before and should always have been ignorant.

21st. After dinner (there coming this morning my aunt Hanes and her son from London, that is to live with my father) I rode to Huntingdon, and so to Hinchinbroke, where Mr. Barnwell shewed me the condition of the house, which is yet very backward, and I fear will be very dark in the cloyster when it is done.

22nd (Lord's day). To church, where we had common prayer, and a dull sermon by one Mr. Case, who yet I heard sing very well. So to dinner, and busy with my father about his accounts.

23rd. Up, and sad to hear my father and mother wrangle as they used to do in London, of which I took notice to both, and told them that I should give over care for anything unless they would spend what they have with more love and quiet. So we took horse and got early to Baldwick,<sup>1</sup> where there was a fayre, and we put in and eat a mouthfull of porke, which they made us pay 14*l.* for, which vexed us much. And so away to Stevenage, and staid till a showre was

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<sup>1</sup> Baldock. (M. B.)

over, and so rode easily to Welling, where we supped well, and had two beds in the room and so lay single, and still remember it that of all the nights that ever I slept in my life I never did pass a night with more epicurism of sleep; there being now and then a noise of people stirring that waked me, and then I was a little weary, that what between waking and then sleeping again, one after another, I never had so much content in all my life, and so my wife says it was with her.

24th. We rose, and set forth, but found a most sad alteration in the roade by reason of last night's rains, they being now all dirty and washy, though not deep. So we rode easily through, and only drinking at Holloway, at the sign of a woman with cakes in one hand and a pot of ale in the other,<sup>1</sup> which did give good occasion of mirth, resembling her to the mayde that served us, we got home very timely and well, and finding there all well, and letters from sea, that speak of my Lord's being well, and his action, though not considerable of any side, at Argier.<sup>2</sup>

25th. By coach with Sir W. Pen to Covent Garden. By the way, upon my desire, he told me that I need not fear any reflection upon my Lord for their ill succeſſe at Argier, for more could not be done than was done. I went to my Cozen, Thos. Pepys, there, and talked with him a good while about our country business, and so we parted; and then meeting Sir R.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the original of the well-known Mother Red-Cap.

<sup>2</sup> These actions at Algiers have been engraved.

Slingsby in St. Martin's Lane, he and I in his coach through the Mewes, which is the way that now all coaches are forced to go, because of a stop at Charing Cross, by reason of a drayne there to clear the streets. To my Lord Crew's and dined with him, where I was used with all imaginable kindness both from him and her. And I see that he is afraid that my Lord's reputacon will a little suffer in common talk by this late successe ; but there is no help for it now. The Queene of England (as she is now owned and called) I hear doth keep open Court, and distinct at Lisbone. Hence, much against my nature and will, yet such is the power of the Devil over me I could not refuse it, to the Theatre, and saw "The Merry Wives of Windsor," ill done.

26th. At the office all the morning, so dined at home, and then abroad with my wife by coach to the Theatre to shew her "King and no King," it being very well done.

27th. At noon, met my wife at the Wardrobe ; and there dined, where we found Captain Country<sup>1</sup> (my little Captain that I loved, who carried me to the Sound), come with some grapes and millons from my Lord at Lisbone. The first that ever I saw ; but the grapes are rare things. In the afternoon comes Mr. Edwd. Montagu (by appointment this morning) to talk with my Lady and me about the provisions fit to be bought, and sent to my Lord along with him. And

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Country, Captain of the "Hind," in the fleet at Scheveling.

told us, that we need not trouble ourselves how to buy them, for the King would pay for all, and that he would take care to get them : which put my Lady and me into a great deal of ease of mind. Here we staid and supped too, and, after my wife had put up some of the grapes in a basket for to be sent to the King, we took coach and home, where we found a hampire of millions sent to me also.

28th. At the office in the morning, dined at home, and then Sir W. Pen and his daughter and I and my wife to the Theatre, and there saw "Father's owne Son,"<sup>1</sup> a very good play, and the first time I ever saw it, and so at night to my house, and there sat and talked and drank and merrily broke up, and to bed.

29th (Lord's day). To church in the morning, and so to dinner, and Sir W. Pen and daughter, and Mrs. Poole, his kinswoman, came by appointment to dinner with us, and a good dinner we had for them, and were very merry, and so to church again, and then to Sir W. Pen's and there supped, where his brother, a traveller, and one that speaks Spanish very well, and a merry man, supped with us, and what at dinner and supper I drink I know not how, of my own accord, so much wine, that I was even almost foxed, and my head aaked all night ; so home and to bed, without prayers, which I never did yet, since I came to the house, of a Sunday night : I being now so out of order that I durst

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<sup>1</sup> The only mention of this play occurs in an enumeration of plays belonging to Will. Beeston, as Governor of the Cockpit, in Drury Lane. The list is dated 10th Aug. 1639. — See COLLIER'S *Annals of the Stage*, ii. 92.

not read prayers, for fear of being perceived by my servants in what case I was.

30th. This morning up by moone-shine, at 5 o'clock, to White Hall, to meet Mr. Moore at the Privy Seale, and there I heard of a fray between the two Embassadors of Spaine<sup>1</sup> and France;<sup>2</sup> and that, this day, being the day of the entrance of an Ambassador from Sweden,<sup>3</sup> they intended to fight for the precedence.<sup>4</sup> Our King, I heard, ordered that no Englishman should meddle in the business,<sup>5</sup> but let them do what they would. And to that end all the soldiers in the towne were in arms all the day long, and some of the trainbands in the City; and a great bustle through the

<sup>1</sup> The Baron de Vatteville.

<sup>2</sup> Godfrey, Count D'Estrades, Marshal of France, and Viceroy of America. He proved himself, upon many occasions, an able diplomatist, and particularly at the conferences of Nimeguen when acting as ambassador in 1673. Ob. 1686, æt. suæ 79. *Vide* his Letters to Louis XIV. in the Appendix.

<sup>3</sup> The Count Brahé.

<sup>4</sup> This had been a frequent source of contention, and many absurd incidents had occurred. In 1618, Gaspar Dauvet, Comte des Marets, Ambassador to James I., left our Court in dissatisfaction upon a point of precedence claimed by him over Gondomar, which was not allowed by James. The question now came to a crisis, and was settled. See Evelyn's account, drawn up by Royal command, printed at the end of his "Diary."

<sup>5</sup> The Comte de Brienne insinuates, in his "Memoirs," that Charles purposely abstained from interfering, in the belief that it was for his interest to let France and Spain quarrel, in order to further his own designs in the match with Portugal. Louis certainly held that opinion; and he afterwards instructed d'Estrades to solicit from the English Court the punishment of those Londoners who had insulted his Ambassador, and to demand the dismissal of De Batteville. Either no Londoner had interfered, or Louis's demand had not in England the same force as in Spain; for no one was punished. The latter part of his request it was clearly not for Charles to entertain, much less enforce.



City all the day. Then we took coach (which was the business I come for) to Chelsy, to my Lord Privy Seale, and there got him to seal the business. Here I saw by day-light two very fine pictures in the gallery, that a little while ago I saw by night ; and did also go all over the house, and found it to be the prettiest contrived house that ever I saw in my life. So back again ; and at White Hall light, and saw the soldiers and people running up and down the streets. So I went to the Spanish Ambassador's and the French, and there saw great preparations on both sides ; but the French made the most noise and vaunted most, but the other made no stir almost at all ; so that I was afraid the other would have had too great a conquest over them. Then to the Wardrobe, and dined there, and then abroad and in Cheapside hear that the Spanish hath got the best of it, and killed three of the French coach-horses and several men, and is gone through the City next to our King's coach ; at which, it is strange to see how all the City did rejoice. And indeed we do naturally all love the Spanish, and hate the French. But I, as I am in all things curious, presently got to the water-side, and there took oares to Westminster Palace, thinking to have seen them come in thither with all the coaches, but they being come and returned, I ran after them with my boy after me through all the dirt and the streets full of people ; till at last, at the Mewes, I saw the Spanish coach go, with fifty drawn swords at least to guard it, and our soldiers shouting for joy. And

so I followed the coach, and then met it at York House,<sup>1</sup> where the ambassador lies; and there it went in with great state. So then I went to the French house, where I observe still, that there is no men in the world of a more insolent spirit where they do well, nor before they begin a matter, and more abject if they do miscarry, than these people are; for they all look like dead men, and not a word among them, but shake their heads. The truth is, the Spaniards were not only observed to fight most desperately, but also they did outwitt them; first in lining their own harnesses with chains of iron that they could not be cut, then in setting their coach in the most advantageous place, and to appoint men to guard every one of their horses, and others for to guard the coach, and others the coachmen. And, above all, in setting upon the French horses and killing them, for by that means the French were not able to stir. There were several men slain of the French, and one or two of the Spaniards, and one Englishman by a bullet.<sup>2</sup> Which is very observable, the French were at least four to one in number,<sup>3</sup> and had near 100 case of pistols among them, and the Spaniards had not one gun

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<sup>1</sup> See note, May 19, 1661.

<sup>2</sup> This fray was the occasion of a good joke at the French Court, thus related in the "*Menagiana*," vol. ii. p. 336: — "Lors qu'on demandoit, 'Que fait Batteville en Angleterre?' on repondoit, '*Il bat L'Estrade*.'" This expression, as is well known, means "battre la campagne avec de la cavalerie pour avoir des nouvelles des ennemis." — CHAMBAUD'S *Dictionary*.

<sup>3</sup> The French accounts swell the number of the Spanish Ambassador's attendants to 2,000; 200 would, perhaps, be the truth.

among them ; which is for their honour for ever, and the others' disgrace. So, having been very much daubed with dirt, I got a coach, and home ; where I vexed my wife in telling of her this story, and pleading for the Spaniards against the French. So ends this month ; myself and family in good condition of health, but my head full of my Lord's and my own and the office business ; where we are now very busy about sending forces to Tangier, and the fleet to my Lord of Sandwich, who is now at Lisbone to bring over the Queene, who do now keep a Court as Queene of England. The business of Argier hath of late troubled me, because my Lord hath not done what he went for, though he did as much as any man in the world could have done. The want of money puts all things, and above all, the Navy, out of order ; and yet I do not see that the King takes care to bring in any money, but thinks of new designs to lay out money.

October 1st. This morning my wife and I lay long in bed, and among other things fell into talk of musique, and desired that I would let her learn to sing, which I did consider, and promised her she should. So before I rose, word was brought me that my singing master, Mr. Goodgroome, was come to teach me ; and so she rose and this morning began to learn also. To the office, where busy all day.

2nd. All this morning at Pegg Kite's with my uncle Fenner, appraising her goods that her mother has left ; but the slut is like to prove so troublesome that I am out of heart with troubling myself in her business.

We went to the Theatre, but coming late, and sitting in an ill place, I never had so little pleasure in a play in my life, yet it was the first time that I ever saw it, "Victoria Corombona."<sup>1</sup> Methinks a very poor play.

3rd. Called at Sir W. Batten's, where his son and his wife were, who had yesterday been at the play where we were, and it was good sport to hear how she talked of it with admiration like a fool.

4th. By coach to White Hall with Sir W. Pen. So to Mr. Montagu, where his man, Mons. Eschar, makes a great complaint against the English, that they did help the Spaniards against the French the other day; and that their Ambassador do demand justice of our King,<sup>2</sup> and that he do resolve to be gone for France

<sup>1</sup> "The White Devil; or, the Life and Death of Vittoria Corombona, the famous Venetian Courtesan," by John Webster.

<sup>2</sup> The courier sent by d'Estrades to Paris, with the news of his discomfiture, arrived at the hôtel of the Comte de Brienne (Louis-Henri de Lomenie, who had succeeded his father, Henri-Auguste, as Secretary of State) at eleven at night. Brienne instantly repaired to the King, then at supper with the Queen-Mother, his own Queen, and his brother, Philippe of Anjou (Monsieur); and, requesting Louis to appear composed before the numerous spectators, he told him that the Spanish Ambassador's people had cut the traces of his Ambassador's coach, killed two coachmen, and cut the horses' bridles; and that the Spanish Ambassador's coach had taken precedence of that of d'Estrades, whose own son had also been wounded in the affray. In spite of the caution which he had received, Louis rose up in such agitation, as nearly to overturn the table; seized Brienne by the arm, led him into the Queen-Mother's chamber, and bade him read d'Estrades' despatch. The Queen-Mother followed in haste. "What is the matter?" said she. — "It is," replied the King, "an attempt to embroil the King of Spain and myself." The Queen-Mother begged him to return to the company. "I have supped, Madame," said he, raising his voice. "I will be righted in this affair, or I will declare war against the King of Spain; and I will force him to yield precedence to my Ambassadors in every Court in Europe." — "Oh, my son!"

the next week ; which I, and all that I met with, are very glad of. I found my wife vexed at her people for grumbling to eat Suffolk cheese,<sup>1</sup> which I also am vexed at.

5th. At the office all the morning, then dined at

replied the Queen-Mother, "break not a peace which has cost me so dear; and remember, that the King of Spain is my brother."—"Leave me, Madame," rejoined Louis, "to hear d'Estrades' despatch. Return to the table, and let some fruit only be prepared for me." Anne of Austria having retired, Louis listened to the despatch, and instantly gave his commands to Brienne; which were, in substance, to order the Conde de Fuensaldagna, the Spanish Ambassador, to quit France instantly, and to forbid the Marques de las Fuentes, his intended successor, to set foot on the French territory; to recall his Commissioners on the boundary question, as well as the Archbishop of Embrun, his Ambassador at Madrid; to demand from the King of Spain an apology proportionable to the offence; that De Batteville should be punished in person; and that in all the Courts of Europe the Spanish Ambassador should give place to the French; and, on the refusal of any part of his demands, to declare war. Louis gained all and every point. After much paper war, and many protocols, Spain gave way. The Baron de Batteville was recalled; the Marques de las Fuentes was sent Ambassador Extraordinary to Paris, to tender apologies; and on March 24, 1662, in the presence of twenty-seven Ambassadors and Envoys from various Courts of Europe, the Marques de las Fuentes declared to Louis XIV. that the King, his master, had sent orders to all his Ambassadors and Ministers to abstain from all rivalry with those of Louis. Louis, turning to the foreign ministers, desired them to communicate this declaration to their masters. The Dutch Ambassador dryly remarked, that he had heard of Embassies to tender obedience to the Pope, but that he had never before known of such from one prince to another. An amusing volume might be written on the absurd punctilios of the Ambassadors of the seventeenth century. A medal was struck by the French to commemorate this great event.

<sup>1</sup> This prejudice extended to the days of Pope, whose country mouse entertained his courtly guest with

*"Cheese such as men in Suffolk make,  
But wished it Stilton for his sake."*

*Imitations of Horace, Sat. vi. b. 2nd.*

See also Shadwell's "Works," vol. iv. p. 350.

home, and so all the afternoon putting up my Lord's model of the Royal James, which I borrowed of him long ago to hang in my room. And at night Sir W. Pen and I alone to the Dolphin, and there eat some bloat-herrings and drank good sack.

6th (Lord's day). To church in the morning; Mr. Mills preached, who, I expect, should take in snuff<sup>1</sup> that my wife did not come to his child's christening the other day. The winter coming on, many of the parish ladies are come home and appear at church again; among others, the three sisters of the Thornbury's, very fine, and the most zealous people that ever I saw in my life, even to admiration, if it were true zeal. There was also my pretty black girle, Mrs. Dekins, and Mrs. Margaret Pen, this day come to church in a new flowered satin suit that my wife helped to buy her the other day. So home to dinner, and to church in the afternoon to St. Gregory's, by Paul's, where I heard a good sermon of Dr. Buck's,<sup>2</sup> one I never heard before, a very able man. So home, and in the evening I went to my Valentine, her father and mother being out of town, to fetch her to supper to my house, and then came Sir W. Pen and we were merry, and so broke up and to bed.

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<sup>1</sup> *Snuff*, anger.

"Who therewith angry, when it next came there,  
Took it in snuff."

SHAKESPEARE, 1 *Henry IV.* act i. sc. 3. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> James Buck, afterwards preacher at the Temple, a man of great learning, and rector of St. James's, Garlickhithe, from 1661 till his death, at an advanced age, in 1685.

7th. About business all day, troubled in my mind till I can hear from Brampton, how things go on at Sturtlow, at the Court,<sup>1</sup> which I was cleared in at night by a letter, which tells me that my cozen Tom was there to be admitted, in his father's name, as heire-at-law, but that he was opposed, and I was admitted by proxy, which put me out of great trouble of mind.

8th. After office done, went and eat some Colchester oysters with Sir W. Batten at his house, and there, with some company, dined and staid there talking all the afternoon; and late after dinner took Mrs. Martha out by coach, and carried her to the Theatre in a frolique, to my great expense, and there shewed her part of the "Beggar's Bush," without much pleasure, and so home again.

9th. This morning went out about my affairs, among others to put my Theorbo out to be mended, and then at noon home again, thinking to go with Sir Williams both to dinner by invitation to Sir W. Rider's,<sup>2</sup> but at home I found Mrs. Pierce, la belle, and Madam Clifford, with whom I was forced to stay, and made them the most welcome I could; and I was (God knows) very well pleased with their beautiful company, and after dinner took them to the Theatre, and shewed them "The Chances;" and so saw them both at home and back to the Fleece taverne, in Covent Garden, where Luellin and Blurton, and my old friend Frank Bagge, was to meet me, and there staid till late

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<sup>1</sup> See Sept. 16, 1661, *ante*.

<sup>2</sup> At Bethnal Green; mentioned June 26, 1663.

very merry. Frank Bagge tells me a story of Mrs. Pepys that lived with my Lady Harvy,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Montagu's sister, a good woman ; that she had been very ill, and often asked for me ; that she is in good condition, and that nobody could get her to make her will ; and that now she is well she desires to have a chamber at my house. Now I do not know whether this is a trick of Bagge's, or a good will of her's to do something for me ; but I will not trust her, but told him I should be glad to see her, and that I would be sure to do all that I could to provide a place for her.

10th. At the office all the morning ; dined at home, and after dinner Sir W. Pen and my wife and I to the Theatre, where the King came to-day, and there was "The Traytor"<sup>2</sup> most admirably acted ; and a most excellent play it is. So home, and intended to be merry, it being [the anniversary of ] my sixth wedding ; but by a late bruise I am in so much pain that I eat my supper and in pain to bed, yet my wife and I pretty merry.

11th. All day in bed.

12th. In bed the greatest part of this day also. I received a letter this day from my father, that Sir R. Bernard do a little fear that my uncle has not observed exactly the custom of Brampton in his will about his lands there, which puts me to a great trouble in mind.

13th (Lord's day). Did not stir out all day, but

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<sup>1</sup> She was the wife of Sir Daniel Harvey.

<sup>2</sup> A tragedy, by James Shirley.



rose and dined below, and this day left off half skirts and put on a wastecoate, and my false taby wastecoate with gold lace ; and in the evening there came Sir W. Batten to see me, and sat and supped very kindly with me, and so to prayers and to bed.

14th. This morning I ventured by water abroad to Westminster. So to the Wardrobe, and there dined with my Lady. To Mr. Pim's, my Lord's taylour's, and there he went out with us to the Fountaine taverne, and it being the Duke of York's birthday, we drank the more to his health. Thence home by linke and found a good answer from my father that Sir R. Bernard do clear all things as to us and our title to Brampton, which puts my heart in great ease and quiet.

15th. At the office all the morning, and in the afternoon to Paul's Churchyard to a blind place, where Mrs. Goldsborough was to meet me to treat about the difference which remains between my uncle and her. But, Lord ! to hear how she talks and how she rails against my uncle would make one mad. But I seemed not to be troubled at it.

16th. This morning came several mayds to my wife to be hired, and at last she pitched upon one Nell, whose mother, an old woman, came along with her, but would not be hired under half a year, which I am pleased at their drollnesse. This day dined by appointment with me, Dr. Thos. Pepys and my Coz : Snow, and my brother Tom, upon a fin of ling and some sounds, neither of which did I ever know before,

but most excellent meat they are both, that in all my life I never eat the like fish.

17th. Captain Cock, a merchant I had not long known, took me to the Sun tavern and gave me a glass of sack, and being a man of great observation and repute, did tell me that he was confident that the Parliament, when it comes the next month to sit again, would bring trouble with it, and enquire how the King had disposed of offices and money, before they will raise more ; which, I fear, will bring all things to ruin again. Thence to the Cook's and there dined with Captain Lambert and his father-in-law, and had much talk of Portugall ; from whence he is lately come, and he tells me it is a very poor dirty place ; I mean the City and Court of Lisbone ; that the King is a very rude and simple fellow ; and, for reviling of somebody a little while ago, had been killed, had he not told them that he was their king. That there are there no glass windows, nor will they have any ; which makes sport among our merchants there to talk of an English factor that, being newly come thither, writ into England that glasse would be a good commodity to send thither, &c. That the King has his meat sent up by a dozen of lazy guards and in pipkins, sometimes, to his own table ; and sometimes nothing but fruits, and, now and then, half a hen. And now that the Infanta is become our Queene, she is come to have a whole hen or goose to her table.

18th. To White Hall, to Mr. Montagu's, where I met with Mr. Pierce, the purser, to advise about the

things to be sent to my Lord for the Queene's provision ; now there is all haste made, for the fleete's going. I met with complaints at home that my wife left no victuals for them all this day.

19th. At the office all the morning, and at noon Mr. Coventry, who sat with us all the morning, and Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. Pen, and myself, by coach to Captain Marshe's, at Limehouse, to a house that hath been their ancestors' for this 250 years, close by the lime-house which gives the name to the place. Here they have a designe to get the King to hire a docke for the herring busses, which is now the great designe on foot, to lie up in. We had a very good and handsome dinner, and excellent wine. I not being neat in clothes, which I find a great fault in me, could not be so merry as otherwise, and at all times I am and can be, when I am in good habitt, which makes me remember my father Osborne's<sup>1</sup> rule for a gentleman to spare in all things rather than in that.

20th (Lord's day). Much offended in mind at a proud trick my man Will hath got, to keep his hat on in the house, but I will not speak of it to him to-day ; but I fear I shall be troubled with his pride and laziness, though in other things he is good enough. To church in the afternoon, where a sleepy Presbyter preached, and then to Sir W. Batten, who is to go to Portsmouth to-morrow to wait upon the Duke of York, who goes to take possession and to set in order the garrison there.

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<sup>1</sup> Osborne's "Advice to a Son." See January 27th, 1663-4. (M. B.)

21st. Early with Mr. Moore by coach to Chelsy, to my Lord Privy Seale's, but have missed of coming time enough ; and having taken up Mr. Pargiter, the goldsmith, who is the man of the world that I do most know and believe to be a cheating rogue, we drank our morning draft there together of cake and ale, and did make good sport of his losing so much by the King's coming in, he having bought much of Crowne lands, of which, God forgive me ! I am very glad. At Whitehall, at the Privy Seale, did with Sir W. Pen take advice about passing of things of his there that concern his matters of Ireland. Thence to the Wardrobe and dined, and so against my judgment and conscience (which God forgive, for my very heart knows that I offend God in breaking my vows herein) to the Opera, which is now newly begun to act again, after some alteration of their scene, which do make it very much worse ; but the play, "Love and Honour,"<sup>1</sup> being the first time of their acting it, is a very good plot, and well done.

22nd. At the office all the morning, where we had a deputation from the Duke in his absence, he being gone to Portsmouth, for us to have the whole disposal and ordering of the Fleet. In the afternoon about business up and down, and at nigh to visit Sir R. Slingsby, who is fallen sick of this new disease, an ague and fever.

23rd. To Whitehall, and there, to drink our morning, Sir W. Pen and I to a friend's lodging, and at

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<sup>1</sup> A tragi-comedy, by Sir W. Davenant, first acted at the Black Friars.

noon he and I dined together alone at the Legg in King Street, and so by coach to Chelsy to my Lord Privy Seale's, and so back to the Opera, and there I saw again "Love and Honour," and a very good play it is. This day all our office is invited against Tuesday next, my Lord Mayor's day, to dinner with him at Guildhall.

24th. At the office all morning, at noon Luellin dined with me. Went to see Sir R. Slingsby, who continues ill, and this day has not spoke at all, which makes them all afeard of him.

25th. To Whitehall, and so to dinner at the Wardrobe, where my wife met me, and there we met with a venison pasty, and my Lady was very merry and handsome, methought. After dinner my wife and I to the Opera, and there saw again "Love and Honour," a play so good that it has been acted but three times and I have seen them all, and all in this week; which is too much, and more than I will do again a good while. This day I did give my man Will a sound lesson about his forbearing to give us the respect due to a master and mistress.

26th. This morning Sir W. Pen and I should have gone out of town with my Lady Batten, to have met Sir William coming back from Portsmouth, at Kingston, but could not, by reason that my Lord of Peterborough<sup>1</sup> (who is to go Governor of Tangier<sup>2</sup>) came

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<sup>1</sup> Henry, second Earl of Peterborough, a Privy Councillor, and in 1685 made Groom of the Stole. He was also K.G., and died 1697.

<sup>2</sup> This place, so often mentioned by Mr. Pepys, was first given up to the

this morning, with Sir G. Carteret, to advise with us about completing of the affairs and preparacions for that place. So at the office all the morning, and in the afternoon Sir W. Pen, my wife and I to the Theatre, and there saw "The Country Captaine," the first time it hath been acted this twenty-five years, a play of my Lord Newcastle's, but so silly a play as in all my life I never saw, and the first that ever I was weary of in my life. News was brought that Sir R. Slingsby, our Comptroller (who hath this day been sick a week), is dead; which put me into so great a trouble of mind, that all the night I could not sleep, he being a man that loved me, and had many qualits that made me to love him above all the officers and commissioners in the Navy.

27th (Lord's day). At church in the morning; where in pew both Sir Williams<sup>1</sup> and I had much talk about the death of Sir Robert, which troubles me

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English Fleet under Lord Sandwich, by the Portuguese, Jan. 30, 1662; and Lord Peterborough left Governor, with a garrison. The greatest pains were afterwards taken to preserve the fortress, and a fine Mole was constructed, at a vast expense, to improve the harbour. At length, after immense sums of money had been wasted there, the House of Commons expressed a dislike to the management of the garrison (which they suspected to be a nursery for a Popish army), and seemed disinclined to maintain it any longer. The King, consequently, in 1683, sent Lord Dartmouth to bring home the troops, and destroy the works; which he performed most effectually, and Tangier fell into the hands of the Moors, its importance having ceased with the demolition of the Mole. Many curious views of Tangier were taken by Hollar, during its occupation by the English; and his drawings are preserved in the British Museum. Some have been engraved by himself; but the impressions are of considerable rarity.

<sup>1</sup> Sir W. Pen and Sir W. Batten, so styled *passim*.

much; and them in appearance, though I do not believe it; because I know that he was a cheque to their engrossing the whole trade of the Navy-office. Home to dinner, and in the afternoon to church again, my wife with me, whose mourning is now grown so old that I am ashamed to go to church with her.

28th. At the office all the morning, and dined at home, and so to Paul's Churchyard to Hunt's, and there found my Theorbo<sup>1</sup> done, which pleases me very well, and costs me 26s. to the altering. But now he tells me it is as good a lute as any is in England, and is worth well 10*l*. Hither I sent for Captain Ferrers to me, who comes with a friend of his, and they and I to the Theatre, and there saw "Argalus and Parthenia," where a woman acted Parthenia, and came afterwards on the stage in men's clothes, and had the best legs that ever I saw, and I was very well pleased with it. Thence to the Ringo alehouse, and thither sent for a belt-maker, and bought of him a handsome belt for second mourning, which cost me 24s., and is very neat.

29th. This day I put on my half cloth black stock-

<sup>1</sup> There is a humorous comparison of the long waists of ladies, which came into fashion about 1621, with the theorbo, by Bishop Corbet:

"She was barr'd up in whale-bones, that did leese  
None of the whale's length, for they reached her knees;  
Off with her head, and then she hath a middle  
As her waste stands, just like the new found fiddle,  
The favourite *Theorbo*, truth to tell ye,  
Whose neck and throat are deeper than the belly."

CORBET, *Iter Boreale*. (M. B.)

ings and my new coat<sup>e</sup> of the fashion, which pleases me well, and with my beaver<sup>1</sup> I was (after office was done) ready to go to my Lord Mayor's feast, as we are all invited; but the Sir Williams were both loth to go, because of the crowd, and so none of us went, and I staid and dined with them, and so home, and in the evening, by consent, we met at the Dolphin, where other company came to us, and should have been merry, but their wine was so naught, and all other things out of order, that we were not so, but staid long at night, and so home and to bed. My mind not pleased with the spending of this day, because I had proposed a great deal of pleasure to myself this day at Guildhall. This Lord Mayor, it seems, brings up again the custom of Lord Mayors going the day of their installment to Paul's, and walking round about the Crosse, and offering something at the altar.

30th. All the morning at the office. At noon played on my Theorbo, and much pleased therewith; it is now altered with a new neck. In the afternoon Captain Lambert called me out by appointment, and we walked together to Deptford, and there in his ship, the Norwich, I got him to shew me every hole and corner of the ship, much to my information, and the

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<sup>1</sup> Doubtless the same mentioned June 27, 1661. It was a "*chapeau de poil*," a mark of some distinction in those days, and which gave name to Rubens's famous picture, now in Sir Robert Peel's collection, of a lady in a beaver hat, or "*chapeau de poil*." This having been corrupted into "*chapeau de paille*," has led to much ignorant conjecture.



purpose of my going. So home again, and at Sir W. Batten's heard how he had been already at Sir R. Slingsby's, as we were all invited, and I intended this night to go, and there he finds all things out of order, and no such thing done to-night, but pretending that the corps stinks, they will bury it to-night privately, and so will unbespeak all their guests, and there shall be no funerall, which I am sorry for, that there should be nothing done for the honour of Sir Robert, but I fear he hath left his family in great distraction. Sir Henry Vane, Lambert, and others, are lately sent suddenly away from the Tower, prisoners to Scilly; but I do not think there is any plot as is said, but only a pretence; as there was once pretended often against the Cavaliers.

31st. With my mind full of trouble, to my uncle Fenner's, when at the alehouse I found him drinking and very jolly and youthsome, and as one that I believe will in a little time get a wife.

November 1st. I went this morning with Sir W. Pen by coach to Westminster, and from thence with him to the 3 Tun Taverne, at Charing Cross, and there sent for up the maister of the house's dinner, and dined very well upon it, and so went away to the Theatre, to "The Joviall Crew," and from hence to my house, and were very merry till late, having sent for his son, Mr. William Pen,<sup>1</sup> lately come from Oxford.

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<sup>1</sup> The celebrated Quaker, and Founder of Pennsylvania.

2d. At the office all the morning ; where Sir John Minnes, our new comptroller, was fetched by Sir Wm. Pen and myself from Sir Wm. Batten's, and led to his place in the office. The first time that he had come hither, and he seems a good fair condition man, and one that I am glad hath the office. After the office done, I to the Wardrobe, and there dined, and in the afternoon had an hour or two's talk with my Lady with great pleasure. This night my boy Wayneman, as I was in my chamber, I overheard him let off some gunpowder, and hearing my wife chide him below for it, and a noise made, I call him up, and find that it was powder that he had put in his pocket, and a match carelessly with it, thinking that it was out, and so the match did give fire to the powder, and had burnt his side and his hand that he put into his pocket to put out the fire. But upon examination, and finding him in a lie about the time and place that he bought it, I did extremely beat him, and though it did trouble me to do it, yet I thought it necessary to do it.

3rd (Lord's day). This day I stirred not out, but took physique, and all the day I did read in Fuller's Holy Warr, and did try to make a song in the praise of a liberall genius (as I take my own to be) to all studies and pleasures, but it not proving to my mind I did reject it. At night my wife and I had a good supper by ourselves of a pullet hashed, which pleased me much to see my condition come to allow ourselves a dish like that.

4th. In the morning by coach with Sir W. Pen to Whitehall, and then to the Mitre (Mr. Rawlinson's), where Mr. Pierce, the Purser, had got us a most brave chine of beef, and a dish of marrowbones. Then called my wife at my brother's, where I left her, and to the Opera, where we saw "The Bondman," which of old we both did so doate on, and do still ; though to both our thinking not so well acted here (having too great expectations), as formerly at Salisbury-court. But for Betterton<sup>1</sup> he is called by us both the best actor in the world.

5th. At the office all the morning. At noon comes my brother Tom and Armiger to dine with me, and then to the Dolphin, where Armiger and I and Captain Cocke sat late and drank much, seeing the boys in the streets flying their crackers, this day being kept all the day very strictly in the City. At last broke up, and called at my Lady Batten's, and would have gone to cards, but Sir W. Pen was so fuddled that we could not try him to play, and therefore we parted, and I home and to bed.

6th. Going forth this morning I met Mr. Davenport and a friend of his, and did give them their morning

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Betterton, the celebrated actor, born in 1635, was the son of an under cook to Charles I., and first appeared on the stage at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, in 1659. After the Restoration, two distinct theatres were established by Royal Authority; one in Drury Lane, called the King's Company, under a patent granted to Killigrew: the other in Lincoln's Inn Fields, styled the Duke's Troop, the patentee of which was Sir W. Davenant, who engaged Mr. Betterton in 1662. Mr. B. died in 1710, and was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey.

draft in good wine, and anchovies, and pickled oysters, and at noon being invited by a note from Luellin, I went and had a good dish or two of marrowbones and another of neats' tongues to dinner, and so I went home and sat late with pleasure at my lute, and so to bed.

7th. This morning came one Mr. Hill to teach me to play on the Theorbo, but I do not like his play nor singing, and so I found a way to put him off. So to the office. I met with letters at home from my Lord from Lisbone, which speak of his being well; and he tells me he had seen at the court there, the day before he wrote this letter, the Juego de Toro.<sup>1</sup> Peg Kite now hath declared she will have the beggarly rogue the weaver, and so we are resolved neither to meddle nor make with her.

8th. This morning up early, and to my Lord Chancellor's with a letter to him from my Lord, and did speak with him; and he did ask me whether I was son to Mr. Talbot Pepys<sup>2</sup> or no (with whom he was once acquainted in the Court of Requests), and spoke to me with great respect. Thence to Westminster Hall (it being Terme time) and there met with Commissioner Pett, and so at noon he and I by appointment to the Sun in New Fish Street, where Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, and we all were to dine, and by discourse I found Sir J. Minnes a fine gentleman and a very good scholler.

9th. At the office all the morning. After dinner I

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<sup>1</sup> A bull-fight. See May 24, 1662.

<sup>2</sup> Of Impington, great uncle to our author.

to the Wardrobe, and there staid talking with my Lady all the afternoon till late at night. Among other things my Lady did mightily urge me to lay out money upon my wife, which I perceived was a little more earnest than ordinary, and so I seemed to be pleased with it, and do resolve to bestow a lace upon her.

10th (Lord's day). At our own church in the morning, where Mr. Mills preached. In the afternoon went and sat with Mr. Turner in his pew at St. Gregory's, where I hear our Queene Katherine, the first time by name as such, publickly prayed for,<sup>1</sup> and heard Dr. Buck<sup>2</sup> upon "Woe unto thee, Corazin," &c., where he started a difficulty, which he left to another time to answer, about why God should give means of grace to those people which he knew would not receive them, and deny to others which he himself confesses, if they had had them, would have received them, and they would have been effectual too. I would I could hear him explain this, when he do come to it.

11th. To the Wardrobe to dinner, and there by appointment met my wife, who had by my direction brought some laces for my Lady to choose one for her. After dinner Captain Ferrers and I went together, and he carried me the first time that ever I saw any gaming house, to one, entering into Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, at the end of Bell Yard, where strange the

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<sup>1</sup> The King's letter to the council for this purpose was read on Nov. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Probably John Buck, D.D., who was Vicar of Stradbrook, Suffolk, and published, in 1660, a Thanksgiving Sermon, preached at St. Paul's. — WATT'S *Bibl. Britan.*

folly of men to lay and lose so much money, and very glad I was to see the manner of a gamester's life, which I see is very miserable, and poor, and unmanly. And thence he took me to a dancing schoole in Fleet Streete, where we saw a company of pretty girles dance, but I do not in myself like to have young girles exposed to so much vanity. So to the Wardrobe, where I found my Lady had agreed upon a lace for my wife of 6*l.*, which I seemed much glad of that it was no more, though in my mind I think it too much, and I pray God keep me so to order myself and my wife's expenses that no inconvenience in purse or honour follow this my prodigality. So by coach home.

12th. At the office all the morning. My wife and I to "Bartholomew Fayre," with puppets which I had seen once before, and the play without puppets often, but though I love the play as much as ever I did, yet I do not like the puppets at all, but think it to be a lessening to it. Thence to the Greyhound in Fleet Streete, and there drank some raspberry sack and eat some sasages, and so home very merry. This day Holmes come to town; and we do expect hourly to hear what usage he hath from the Duke and the King about this late business of letting the Swedish Embassador<sup>1</sup> go by him without striking his flag.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Count Brabé.

<sup>2</sup> And that, too, in the river Thames itself. The right of obliging ships of all nations to lower topsails and strike their flag to the English, whilst in the British seas, and even on the French coasts, had, up to this time, been rigidly enforced. When Sully was sent by Henry IV., in 1603, to congratulate James I. on his accession, and in a ship commanded by a Vice-Admiral

13th. By appointment, we all went this morning to wait upon the Duke of York, which we did in his chamber, as he was dressing himself in his riding suit to go this day by sea to the Downes. He is in mourning for his wife's grandmother,<sup>1</sup> which is thought a great piece of fondness.<sup>2</sup> After we had given him

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of France, he was fired upon by the English Admiral Mansel, for daring to hoist the flag of France in the presence of that of England, although within sight of Calais. The French flag was lowered, and all Sully's remonstrances could obtain no redress for the alleged injury. According to Rugge, Holmes had insisted upon the Swede's lowering his flag, and had even fired a shot to enforce the observance of the usual tribute of respect, but the Ambassador sent his secretary and another gentleman on board the English frigate, to assure the captain, *upon the word and honour of an Ambassador*, that the King, by a verbal order, had given him leave and a dispensation in that particular, and upon this false representation he was allowed to proceed on his voyage without further question. This want of caution, and disobedience of orders, fell heavily on Holmes, who was imprisoned for two months, and not reappointed to the same ship. Brahé afterwards made a proper submission for the fault he had committed, at his own Court. His conduct reminds us of Sir Henry Wotton's definition of an ambassador — *that he is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country*. A pun upon the term *lieger*-Ambassador.

<sup>1</sup> Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon, was twice married. His first wife was the daughter of Sir George Ayliffe, of Foxley, in the county of Wilts. He married her in 1628, when he was only twenty years old, and she died of the small-pox six months afterwards, before any child was born. In 1632 he married Frances, daughter of Sir Thomas and Lady Ailesbury, by whom he had four sons and two daughters. Anne, the eldest daughter, became, as is well known, the wife of the Duke of York, and the mother of Queen Mary and Queen Anne. The whole story of her grandmother being a "tub-woman," or "beer-carrier," is altogether fabulous. See *Notes and Queries*, vol. vii. p. 211. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Fondness, foolishness.

"He that is young thinketh the olde man *fond*; and the olde knoweth the young man to be a foole." — *Euph. and his Eng.* p. 9.

"*Fondness* it were for any, being free,  
To covet fetters, tho' they golden be."

SPENS. *Sonnet*, 37. (M. B.)

our letter relating the bad condition of the Navy for want of money, he referred it to his coming back and so parted. Thence on foot to my Lord Crew's ; here I was well received by my Lord and Sir Thomas ; with whom I had great talk : and he tells me in good earnest that he do believe the Parliament (which comes to sit again the next week), will be troublesome to the Court and Clergy, which God forbid ! But they see things carried so by my Lord Chancellor and some others, that get money themselves, that they will not endure it. From thence to the Theatre, and there saw " Father's own Son " again, and so it raining very hard I went home by coach, with my mind very heavy for this my expensfull life, which will undo me, I fear after all my hopes, if I do not take up, for now I am coming to lay out a great deal of money in clothes for my wife, I must forbear other expenses. To bed, and this night began to lie in the little green chamber, where the mayds lie, but we could not a great while get Nell to lie there, because I lie there and my wife, but at last, when she saw she must lie there or sit up, she, with much ado, came to bed.

14th At the office all the morning. At noon to a dinner of young Mr. Bernard's for myself, Mr. Phillips, Davenport, Weaver, &c., where we had a most excellent dinner, but a pie of such pleasant variety of good things, as in all my life I never tasted. Hence to the Temple to Mr. Turner about drawing up my bill in Chancery against T. Trice, and so to Salisbury Court,



where Mrs. Turner is come to towne, but very ill still of an ague.

15th. At home all the morning, and at noon with my wife to the Wardrobe to dinner, and there did shew herself to my Lady in the handkercher that she bought the lace for the other day, and indeed it is very handsome. So to my Lord Privy Seale, and then to the Opera, where I met my wife and Captain Ferrers and Mademoiselle Le Blanc, and there did see the second part of "The Siege of Rhodes" very well done; and so by coach set her home, and the coach driving down the hill through Thames Street, which I think never any coach did before from that place to the bridge-foot, but going up Fish Street Hill his horses were so tired, that they could not be got to go up the hill, though all the street boys and men did beat and whip them. At last I was fain to send my boy for a linke, and so 'light out of the coach till we got to another at the corner of Fen-church Street, and so home.

17th (Lord's day). To our own church, and at noon, by invitation, Sir W. Pen dined with me, and I took Mrs. Hester, my Lady Batten's kinswoman, to dinner from church with me, and we were very merry. So to church again, and heard a simple fellow upon the praise of Church musique, and exclaiming against men's wearing their hats on in the church, but I slept part of the sermon, till latter prayer and blessing and all was done without waking, which I never did in my life.

18th. At St. Paul's, where I saw the quiristers in their surplices going to prayers, and a few idle poor people and boys to hear them, which is the first time I have seen them, and am sorry to see things done so out of order. Here I dined and had a good dinner. There was a young Parson at the table that had got himself drunk before dinner, which troubled me to see. After dinner for my wife, and brought her to the Theatre to see "*Philaster*,"<sup>1</sup> which I never saw before, but I found it far short of my expectations.

19th. At the office all the morning. Mr. Hunt dined with us, and after dinner took coach as far as my cozen Scott's, and my wife and I staid there at the christening of my cozen's boy, where my cozen Samuel Pepys, of Ireland, and I were godfathers, and I did name the child Samuel. There was a company of pretty women there in the chamber, but we staid not, but went with the minister into another room and eat and drank, my she-cozen, Stradwick, being god-mother. It cost me 20s. between the midwife and the two nurses to-day.

20th. To Westminster Hall by water in the morning, where I saw the King going in his barge to the Parliament House; this being the first day of their meeting again. And the Bishops, I hear, do take their places in the Lords' House this day. I walked longe in the Hall, but hear nothing of newes, but what Ned Pickering tells me, which I am troubled at,

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<sup>1</sup> "*Philaster*; or, Love lies a bleeding," a tragedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

that Sir J. Minnes should send word to the King, that if he did not remove all my Lord Sandwich's captains out of this fleet, he believed the King would not be master of the fleet at its coming again: and so do endeavour to bring disgrace upon my Lord. But I hope all that will not do, for the King loves him. Hence by water to the Wardrobe, and dined with my Lady, my Lady Wright<sup>1</sup> being there too, whom I find to be a witty but very conceited woman and proud. I home, and went seriously to look over my papers touching T. Trice, and I think I have found some that will go near to do me more good in this difference of ours than all I have before. So to bed with my mind cheery upon it, and lay long reading "Hobbs his Liberty and Necessity," and a little but very shrewd piece.

21st. Mr. Moore comes and dined with me, and we had a good surloyne of rost beefe, the first that ever I had of my own buying since I kept house; after dinner went with Mr. Moore to Graye's Inn to his chamber, and there he shewed me his old Camden's "Britannica," which I intend to buy of him, and so took it away with me, and left it at St. Paul's Churchyard to be bound, and so home and to the office all the afternoon; it being the first afternoon that we have sat, which we are now to do always, so long as the Parliament sits, who this day have voted the King 120,000*l*.<sup>2</sup> to be raised to pay his debts.

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<sup>1</sup> See March 27, 1660, *ante*. Lady Wright lived till 1708.

<sup>2</sup> A mistake. According to the journals, £1,200,000. And see Diary, 29th February, 1663-4. (M. B.)

22nd. Within all the morning, and at noon with my wife, by appointment to dinner at the Dolphin, where Sir W. Batten, and his lady and daughter Matt,<sup>1</sup> and Captain Cocke and his lady, a German lady, but a very great beauty, and we dined together, at the spending of some wagers won and lost between him and I; and there we had the best musique and very good songs, and were very merry and danced, but I was most of all taken with Madam Cocke and her little boy, which in mirth his father had given to me. But after all our mirth comes a reckoning of 4*l.*, besides 40*s.* to the musicians, which did trouble us, but it must be paid, and so I took leave and left them there about eight at night.

23rd. To Westminster with my wife, and thence to Cheapside to one Savill,<sup>2</sup> a painter, who I intend shall do my picture and my wife's. Thence I to dinner at the Wardrobe, and so home to the office, and there all the afternoon till night. This day I have a chine of beef sent home, which I bespoke to send, and did send it as a present to my uncle Wight.

24th (Lord's day). Up early, and by appointment to St. Clement Danes<sup>3</sup> to church, and there to meet Captain Cocke, who had often commended Mr. Alsopp, their minister, to me, who is indeed an able man, but as all things else did not come up to my

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<sup>1</sup> Martha Batten.

<sup>2</sup> No notice of this artist has been discovered.

<sup>3</sup> So called, because Harold, the Danish king, and others of his countrymen, were there buried.

expectations. His text was that all good and perfect gifts are from above. To the Wardrobe and there dined. Thence homewards, and meeting Mr. Yong, the upholster, he and I to the Mitre, and with Mr. Rawlinson sat and drank a quart of sack.

25th. To Westminster Hall in the morning with Captain Lambert, and there he did at the Dog give me and some other friends of his, his foy,<sup>1</sup> he being to set sail to-day toward the Streights. Here we had oysters and good wine. Having this morning met in the Hall with Mr. Sanchy, we appointed to meet at the play this afternoon. At noon, at the rising of the House, I met with Sir W. Pen and Major General Massy, who I find by discourse to be a very ingenious man, and among other things a great master in the secresys of powder and fireworks, and another knight to dinner, at the Swan, in the Palace yard, and our meat brought from the Legg; and after dinner Sir W. Pen and I to the Theatre, and there saw "The Country Captain," a dull play, and that being done, I left him with his Torys<sup>2</sup> and went to the Opera, and saw the last act of "The Bondman," and there found

<sup>1</sup> *Foy*. See note, 20th March, 1660. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> *Torys*. "Whig and Tory. Whenever these terms were first introduced, and whatever might be their original meaning, it is certain in the reign of Charles II. they carried the political signification, which they have retained to our time." Thus in Dryden's Epilogue to the Duke of Guise, 1682 :

" ' Damned neuters, in their middle way of steering,  
Are neither fish nor flesh, nor good red herring;  
Not Whigs nor Tories they, ' &c."

TIMBS, *Things not Generally Known*. (M. B.)

Mr. Sanchy and Mrs. Mary Archer, sister to the fair Betty, whom I did admire at Cambridge, and thence took them to the Fleece<sup>1</sup> in Covent Garden; but Mr. Sanchy could not by any argument get his lady to trust herself with him into the tavern, which he was much troubled at, and so we returned immediately into the city by coach, and then set her at her uncle's in the Old Jewry.

27th. This morning our mayde Dorothy and my wife parted, which though she be a wench for her tongue not to be borne with, yet I was loth to part with her, but I took my leave kindly of her and went out to Savill's, the painter, and there sat the first time for my face with him; thence to dinner with my Lady; and so after an hour or two's talk in divinity with my Lady, Captain Ferrers and Mr. Moore and I to the Theatre, and there saw "Hamlett" very well done.

28th. Letters from my Lord Sandwich, from Tangier;<sup>2</sup> where he continues still, and hath done some execution upon the Turks, and retaken an Englishman from them, of one Mr. Parker's,<sup>3</sup> a merchant in Marke-lane. To the Chancellor's, and there met with

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<sup>1</sup> See the account of this tavern, Dec. 1, 1660, *ante*.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Sandwich's Journal has been printed by Kennett. See note to Feb. 20, 1661-62.

<sup>3</sup> The Ironmongers' Company possess in trust an enormous sum, left by Thomas Batton, for the redemption of Christian slaves in Barbary. Since Lord Exmouth's expedition no claims have arisen upon the fund, which is now administered for other purposes, under the direction of the Court of Chancery.

Mr. Dugdale, and with him and one Mr. Simons, I think that belongs to my Lord Hatton,<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Kipps and others, to the Fountaine taverne. When I came home I found our new mayde Sarah, who is a tall and a very well favoured wench, and one that I think will please us.

29th. I lay long in bed, till Sir Williams both sent me word that we were to wait upon the Duke of York to-day; and that they would have me to meet them at Westminster Hall, at noon: so I rose and went thither; and there I understand that they are gone to Mr. Coventry's lodgings, in the Old Palace Yard, to dinner (the first time I knew he had any):<sup>2</sup> and there I met them two and Sir G. Carteret, and had a very fine dinner, and good welcome, and discourse; and so, by water, after dinner to White Hall to the Duke, who met us in his closet; and there he did discourse to us the business of Holmes,<sup>3</sup> and did desire of us to know what hath been the common practice about making of forrayne ships to strike sail to us, which they did all do as much as they could; but I could say nothing to it, which I was sorry for. So indeed I was forced to study a lie, and so after we were gone from the Duke, I told Mr. Coventry that I had heard Mr. Selden often say, that he could prove that in Henry the 7th's time, he did give commission to his captains to make the King of Denmark's ships

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<sup>1</sup> Christopher, first Lord Hatton. Ob. 1670.

<sup>2</sup> This may be dinner or lodgings.

<sup>3</sup> See 12th Nov. 1661, *ante*.

to strike to him <sup>1</sup> in the Baltique. From thence Sir W. Pen and I to the Theatre, but it was so full that we could hardly get any room, so he went up to one of the boxes, and I into the 18*d*. places, and there saw "Love at first sight," a play of Mr. Killigrew's, and the first time that it hath been acted since before the troubles, and great expectation there was, but I found the play to be a poor thing, and so I perceive every body else do. So home, calling at Paul's Churchyard for a "Mare Clausum," <sup>2</sup> having it in my mind to write a little matter, what I can gather, about the business of striking sayle, and present it to the Duke, which I now think will be a good way to make myself known.

30th. In the morning to the Temple, and so to the Wardrobe to dinner. The Parliament has sat a pretty while. The old condemned judges of the late King have been brought before the Parliament, and like to be hanged. I am deep in Chancery against Tom Trice, God give a good issue ; and myself under great

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<sup>1</sup> The tables were in vain attempted to be turned in May, 1670, when Arthur Capel, the first Earl of Essex, sent as Ambassador Extraordinary to Denmark in a ship of war, was thrice fired upon with shot by Major-General Holke, who commanded the Castle of Cronenburg, which Essex had neglected or refused to salute. Charles did not submit tamely to this insult. Essex was ordered to obtain the fullest reparation, and he did so promptly. On the 19th of the same month, Sir John Trevor, Secretary of State, acknowledged the good success which Lord Essex had had "about the flagg. His Majesty received your letter with great satisfaction, which came seasonably to be declared here before the French Court. The satisfaction you have obtained is absolute, and a full renounce to all that pretence on their part."

<sup>2</sup> By Selden. (M. B.)



trouble for my late great expending of money vainly, which God stop for the future. This is the last day for the old State's coyne to pass in common payments, but they say it is to pass in publique payments to the King three months still.

December 1st (Lord's day). In the morning at church and heard Mr. Mills. At noon dined and with me by appointment Mr. Sanchy, who should have brought his mistress, Mrs. Mary Archer, of Cambridge, but she could not come, but we had a good dinner for him. We this day cut a brave collar of brawne from Winchcombe which proves very good, and also opened the glass of girkins which Captain Cocke did give my wife the other day, which are rare things. There hath lately been great clapping up of some old statesmen, such as Ireton, Moyer,<sup>1</sup> and others, and they say, upon a great plot, but I believe no such thing; but it is but justice that they should be served as they served the poor Cavaliers; and I believe 'it will oftentimes be so as long as I live, whether there be cause or no.

2nd. Called on by Mr. Sanchy and his mistress, and with them by coach to the Opera, to see "The Mad Lover,"<sup>2</sup> but not much pleased with the play. That done home all to my house, where they staid and supped and were merry, and at last late bid good night, and so we to bed.

3rd. To the Paynter's<sup>3</sup> and sat and had more of

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<sup>1</sup> Samuel Moyer, one of the Council of State, 1653.

<sup>2</sup> By John Fletcher.

<sup>3</sup> Savill. See 23rd Nov. 1661.

my picture done ; but it do not please me, for I fear it will not be like me. At noon thence to the Wardrobe, where my Lady Wright was at dinner, and all our talk about the great happiness that my Lady Wright says there is in being in the fashion and in variety of fashions, in scorn of others that are not so, as citizens' wives and country gentlewomen, which though it did displease me enough, yet I said nothing to it. Thence by water to the office through bridge, being carried by him in oares that the other day rowed in a scull faster than my oares to the Towre, and I did give him 6*d*. At the office all the afternoon, and at night home to read in "Mare Clausum" till bed-time.

4th. To Whitehall with both Sir Williams, thence by water, where I saw a man lie dead upon Westminster Stairs that had been drowned yesterday, to the Temple.

5th. This morning I went early to the Paynter's and there sat for my picture the fourth time, but it do not yet please me, which do much trouble me. Thence to the Treasury office, and there we sat to pay off the St. George. By and by came Sir W. Pen, and he and I went and dined at my house, and had two mince pies sent thither by our order from the messenger Slater, that had dressed some victuals for us, and so we were very merry.

6th. To White Hall, where, at Sir G. Carteret's, Sir Williams both and I dined very pleasantly ; and after dinner, by appointment, came the Governors of

the East India Company, to sign and seal the contract' between us (in the King's name) and them. And that done, we all went to the King's closet, and there spoke with the King and the Duke of York, who promise to be very careful of the India trade to the utmost.

7th. This morning comes Captain Ferrers and the German, Emanuel Luffe, who goes as one of my Lord's footmen, though he deserves a much better preferment, to take their leave of me, and here I got the German to play upon my theorbo. He plays bravely. I did give them a mince pie and a collar of brawn and some wine for their breakfast, and were very merry. At last we all parted, but within a quarter of an hour after they were gone, and my wife and I were talking about buying of a fine scallop which is brought her this morning by a woman to be sold, which is to cost her 45s., in comes the German back again, all in a goare of blood, which I wondered at, and tells me that he is afeard that the Captain is killed by the watermen at Towre Stayres; so I presently<sup>2</sup> went thither, and found that upon some rude pressing of the watermen to ply the Captain, he struck one of them with his cane,<sup>3</sup> which they would not take, but struck him again, and then the German drew

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<sup>1</sup> The important charter had been granted to the Company in the April previous. Bombay, just acquired, as part of Queen Katherine's dowry, was not made over to the Company by Charles until 1668.

<sup>2</sup> Immediately. (M. B.)

<sup>3</sup> See a similar outrage, committed by Captain Ferrers, 12th Sept. 1662. Swords were usually worn by footmen. See 4th May, 1662, *post*.

his sword and ran at one of them, but they were both soundly beaten. The Captain is, however, got to the hoy that carries him and the pages to the Downes, and I went into the alehouse at the Stayres and got them to deliver the Captain's feathers, which one from the Captain was come to demand, and went home again, and there found my wife dressing of the German's head, and so did [give] him a cravett for his neck, and a crowne in his purse, and sent him away again. To Whitehall, and eat a bit of meat at Wilkin-son's, and then to the Privy Seale, and sealed there ; and, among other things that passed, there was a patent for Roger Palmer (Madam Palmer's husband) to be Earle of Castlemaine <sup>1</sup> and Baron of Limbricke in Ireland ; but the honour is tied up to the males got of the body of this wife, the Lady Barbary : the reason whereof every body knows. That done, by water to the office, where I found Sir W. Pen, and with him Captain Holmes, who had wrote his case, and gives me a copy, as he hath many among his friends, and presented the same to the King and Council. Which I shall make use of in my attempt of writing something concerning the business of striking sail, which I am now about.<sup>2</sup> But he do cry out against Sir John

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<sup>1</sup> Ob. July, 1705.

<sup>2</sup> Pepys seems not to have been aware at the time that Sir John Burroughs, Keeper of the Records, *temp.* Car. I., had written a Treatise on the Sovereignty of the British Seas, copies of which, both in Latin and English, are common, and one of which is in the Pepysian Library ; neither had he discovered that William Ryley, the Herald, Deputy Keeper of the Records, whom he knew personally, had also written on the subject, and had made

Minnes, as the veriest knave and rogue and coward in the world.

8th (Lord's day). To dinner at the Wardrobe, and after a great deal of good discourse with my Lady, among other things of the great christening yesterday at Mr. Rumbell's, and courtiers and pomp that was there, which I wonder at, I went away up and down into all the churches almost between that place and my house, and so home.

9th. At noon to dinner at the Wardrobe; where my Lady Wright was, who did talk much upon the worth and the desert of gallantry; and that there was none fit to be courtiers, but such as have been abroad and know fashions. Which I endeavoured to oppose; and was troubled to hear her talk so, though she be a very wise and discreet lady in other things. From thence Mr. Moore and I to the Temple about my law business with my cozen Turner, and there we read over T. Trice's answer to my bill and advised thereupon. So by coach home, and to supper, and to bed, having staid up till 12 at night writing letters to my Lord Sandwich and all my friends with him at sea, to send to-morrow by Mons. Eschar.

10th. To Whitehall, so to dinner to my Lord Crew's by coach, and in my way had a stop of above an houre and a half, which is a great trouble this

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extracts from the Records. Ryley's collections appear to have belonged to James II., and were probably made for him at this time. The Duke of Newcastle afterwards possessed them, and they are now in the British Museum

Parliament time, but it cannot be helped. However I got thither before my Lord come from the House, and so dined with him.

11th. I went out, and in my way met with Mr. Howell the Turner, who invited me to dine this day at Mr. Rawlinson's with some friends of his, officers of the Towre, at a venison pasty, which I promised him, and so I went to the Old Bayly, and there staid and drank with him, who told me the whole story how Pegg Kite has married herself to a weaver, an ugly fellow, to her undoing. From thence home and put on my velvet coat, and so to the Mitre to dinner, but going up into the room I found at least 12 or more persons, and knew not the face of any of them, so I went down again and walked to the Exchequer, and up and down, and was very hungry, and from thence home, and my wife was gone out by coach to Clerkenwell, to see Mrs. Margaret Pen, who is at schoole there. So I went to see Sir W. Pen, and he and I after some talk took a coach and went to Moorfields, and there into an alehouse and I drank some ale and eat some bread and cheese, and so being very merry we went home again.

12th. To the Wardrobe and dined with my Lady, where her brother, Mr. John Crew, dined also, and a strange gentlewoman dined at the table as a servant of my Lady's; but I knew her not, and so I am afeard that poor Mademoiselle <sup>1</sup> was gone, but I since under-

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<sup>1</sup> See Nov. 15, 1661, *ante*.

stand that she is come as housekeeper to my Lady, and is a married woman.

13th. Dined at home and then with my wife to the Paynter's,<sup>1</sup> and there she sat the first time to be drawn while I all the while stood looking on a pretty lady's picture, whose face did please me extremely. At last, he having done, I found that the dead colour of my wife is good, above what I expected, which pleased me exceedingly. So home and to the office about some special business, where Sir Williams both.

15th (Lord's day). To church in the morning where our young Reader begun the first day to read. Sir W. Pen dined with me and we were merry. Again to church and so home, and all alone read till bedtime, and so to prayers and to bed. I have been troubled this day about a difference between my wife and her mayde Nell, who is a simple slut, and I am afeard we shall find her a cross-grained wench. I am now full of study about writing something about our making of strangers strike to us at sea; and so am altogether reading Selden and Grotius, and such other authors to that purpose.

16th. Up by five o'clock this morning by candle-light, and so by coach to Chelsy to my Lord Privy Seale, and so back to Westminster Hall, and thence to my Lord Sandwich's lodgings, where I met my wife, and got a joint of meat thither from the Cook's, and

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<sup>1</sup> Savill's.

after dinner to the Opera, where there was a new play ("Cutter of Coleman Street"),<sup>1</sup> made in the year 1658, with reflections much upon the late times; and it being the first time the pay was doubled, and so to save money, my wife and I went up into the gallery, and there sat and saw very well; and a very good play it is. It seems of Cowly's making.

17th. Up and to the Paynter's to see how he went forward in our picture. So back again to dinner at home, and then was sent for to the Privy Seale, whither I was forced to go and stay so long and late that I was much vexed. At last we got all done, and then made haste to the office, where they were sat, and there we sat late, and so home to supper and to Selden, "Mare Clausum," and so to bed.

18th. At the office upon business extraordinary all the morning, then to my Lady Sandwich's to dinner, and then to see Mrs. Turner, who begins to be better, and so back to my Ladies, where much made of, and so home to my study till bed-time.

19th. This morning my wife and I to the Paynter's and there she sat till noon, I all the while looking over a variety of prints. After the Paynter had done I did like the picture pretty well, and my wife and I went home by coach, but in the way I took occasion to fall out with my wife very highly about her ribbands being ill matched and of two colours, and to very high

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<sup>1</sup> Cutter, in old English, means a swagger: hence the title of the play. It was originally called "The Guardian," when acted before royalty at Cambridge.



words, so that, like a passionate fool, I did call her a bad name, for which I was afterwards sorry. Then I to the Dolphin, where Sir W. Warren did give us all a good dinner, and that being done, to the office, and there sat late, and so home.

20th. To the Wardrobe to dinner, and then met with Mr. Swan (my old acquaintance), and we to a tavern, where we had enough of his old simple religious talk, and he is still a coxcomb in these things as he ever was, and tells me he is setting out a book called the unlawfull use of lawfull things; but a very simple fellow he is, and so I leave him.

21st. To White Hall to the Privy Seale, where my Lord Privy Seale did tell us he could seale no more this month, for that he goes thirty miles out of towne to keep his Christmas. At which I was glad, but only afraid lest any thing of the King's should force us to to after him to get a seale in the country. Taken by some Exchequer men to the Dogg, where, being St. Thomas's day, by custome they have a general meeting at dinner. There I was and all very merry, and there I spoke to Mr. Falconberge to look whether he could out of Domesday Book,<sup>1</sup> give me any thing concerning the sea, and the dominion thereof; which he says he will look after. So by coach home to the office, where I was vexed to see Sir Williams both seem to think so much that I should be a little out of the way, saying that without their Register they were

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<sup>1</sup> What idea could Pepys have formed of Domesday Book?

not a Committee, which I took in some dudgeon, and see clearly that I must keep myself at a little distance with them and not crouch, or else I shall never keep myself up even with them.

22nd. To church in the morning, where the Reader made a boyish young sermon. Home to dinner, and there I took occasion, from the blacknesse of the meat as it came out of the pot, to fall out with my wife and my mayde for their sluttery, and went up to read in Mr. Selden till church time, and then my wife and I to church, and there in the pew, with the rest of the company, was Captain Holmes, in his gold-laced suit, at which I was troubled.

23rd. Early up and by coach (before daylight) to the Wardrobe, and so to Chelsy to my Lord Privy Seale, and there sealed some things. So back again to Westminster, and from thence by water to the Treasury Office, where I found Sir W. Pen paying off the Sophia and Griffen, and there I staid with him till noon, and having sent for some collar of beef and a mince pie, we eat and drank, and so I left him and took coach, and lighting at my bookseller's in Paul's Churchyard, I met with Mr. Crumlum and the second master of Paul's School, and thence I took them to the Starr, and there we sat and talked, and I had great pleasure in their company, and very glad I was of meeting him so accidentally, I having omitted too long to go to see him. Here in discourse of books I did offer to give the schoole what books he would choose of 5*l*. So we parted.

25th. In the morning to church, where at the door of our pew I was fain to stay, because that the sexton had not opened the door. A good sermon of Mr. Mills. Dined at home all alone, and taking occasion from some fault in the meat to complain of my mayd's sluttery, my wife and I fell out, and I up to my chamber in a discontent. After dinner my wife comes up to me and all friends again, and she and I to walk upon the leads, and there Sir W. Pen called us, and we went to his house and supped with him.

26th. This morning Sir W. Pen and I to the Treasury office, and there we paid off the Amity and another ship, and so home, and after dinner Sir William came to me, and he and his son and daughter, and I and my wife, by coach to Moorfields to walk; but it was most foule weather, and so we went into an alehouse and there eat some cakes and ale, and a washeall-bowle<sup>1</sup> woman and girle came to us and sung to us. And after all was done I called my boy (Wayneman) to us to eat some cake that was left, and the woman of the house told us that he had called for two cakes and a pot of ale for himself, at which I was angry, and am resolved to correct him for it. So home, and Sir W. Pen and his son and daughter

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<sup>1</sup> Wassel or wassail, from two Saxon words, meaning "be in health," or "water of health," which was the form of drinking a health.

"The King doth wake to-night, and takes his rouse,  
Keeps *wassel*."

SHAKESPEARE, *Hamlet*, act i. sc. 4. (M. B.)

to supper to me to a good turkey, and were merry at cards, and so to bed.

27th. In the morning to my Bookseller's to bespeak a Stephens' Thesaurus, for which I offer 4*l.*, to give to Paul's School, and from thence to Paul's Church; and there I heard Dr. Gunning preach a good sermon upon the day (being St. John's day), and did hear him tell a story, which he did persuade us to believe to be true, that St. John and the Virgin Mary did appear to Gregory, a Bishopp, at his prayer to be confirmed in the faith, which I did wonder to hear from him.

28th. At home all the morning; and in the afternoon all of us at the office, upon a letter from the Duke for the making up of a speedy estimate of all the debts of the Navy, which is put into good forwardness. I home and Sir W. Pen to my house, who with his children staid playing cards late, and so to bed.

29th (Lord's day). To the Abbey, and there meeting with Mr. Hooper, he took me in among the quire, and there I staid with them their service. So to the Wardrobe and supped, and staid very long talking with my Lady, who seems to doat every day more and more upon us.

30th. With my wife and Sir W. Pen to see our pictures, which do not much displease us, and so back again, and I staid at the Mitre, whither I had invited all my old acquaintance of the Exchequer to a good chine of beef, which with three barrels of oysters and three pullets, and plenty of wine and mirth, was our

dinner, and there was about twelve of us, and here I made a foolish promise to give them one this day twelvemonth, and so for ever while I live, but I do not intend it. So home to Sir W. Pen, who with his children and my wife has been at a play to-day and saw "D'Ambois,"<sup>1</sup> which I never saw. Here we staid late at supper and playing at cards, and so home and to bed.

31st. My wife and I this morning to the Paynter's, and there she sat the last time, and I stood by and did tell him some little things to do, that now her picture I think will please me very well; and after her, her little black dogg sat in her lap, and was drawn, which made us very merry; so home to dinner. To the office; and there late finishing our estimate of the debts of the Navy to this day; and it come to near 374,000*l*. So home, and after supper, and my barber had trimmed me, I sat down to end my journell for this year, and my condition at this time, by God's blessing, is thus: my health is very good, and so my wife's in all respects: my servants, W. Hēwer, Sarah, Nell, and Wayneman: my house at the Navy Office. I suppose myself to be worth about 500*l*. clear in the world, and my goods of my house my owne, and what is coming to me from Brampton, when my father dies, which God defer. But, by my uncle's death, the whole care and trouble of all, and settling of all lies upon me, which is very great, be-

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<sup>1</sup> A tragedy, by George Chapman.

cause of law-suits, especially that with T. Trice, about the interest of 200*l.*, which will, I hope, be ended soon. My chiefest thought is now to get a good wife for Tom, there being one offered by the Joyces, a cozen of theirs, worth 200*l.* in ready money. I am also upon writing a little treatise to present to the Duke, about our privilege in the seas, as to other nations striking their flags to us. But my greatest trouble is, that I have for this last half year been a very great spendthrift in all manner of respects, that I am afeard to cast up my accounts, though I hope I am worth what I say above. But I will cast them up very shortly. I have newly taken a solemn oath about abstaining from plays and wine, which I am resolved to keep according to the letter of the oath which I keep by me. The fleet hath been ready to sail for Portugall, but hath lacked wind this fortnight, and by that means my Lord is forced to keep at sea all this winter, till he brings home the Queene, which is the expectation of all now, and the greatest matter of publique talk.

[1661-62.] January 1st. Waking this morning out of my sleep on a sudden, I did with my elbow hit my wife a great blow over her face and nose, which waked her with pain, at which I was sorry, and to sleep again. Up and went forth with Sir W. Pen by coach towards Westminster, and in my way seeing that the "Spanish Curate"<sup>1</sup> was acted to-day, I light and let

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<sup>1</sup> By John Fletcher. Pepys saw it at the Duke's Theatre.

him go alone, and I home again and sent to young Mr. Pen<sup>1</sup> and his sister to go anon with my wife and I to the Theatre. That done, Mr. W. Pen came to me and he and I walked out, and to the Stacioner's, and looked over some pictures and maps for my house, and so home again to dinner, and by and by came the two young Pens, and after we had eat a barrel of oysters we went by coach to the play, and there saw it well acted, and a good play it is, only Diego the Sexton did overdo his part too much. From thence home, and they sat with us till late at night at cards very merry, but the jest was Mr. W. Pen had left his sword in the coach, and so my boy and he run out after the coach, and by very great chance did at the Exchange meet with the coach and got his sword again. So to bed.

2nd. An invitation sent us before we were upp from my Lady Sandwich's, to come and dine with her: so at the office all the morning, and at noon thither to dinner, where there was a good and great dinner, and the company, Mr. William Montagu and his Lady, but she seemed so far from the beauty that I expected her from my Lady's talk to be, that it put me into an ill humour all the day, to find my expectation so lost. I went forth, by appointment, to meet with Mr. Grant, who promised to bring me acquainted with Cooper,<sup>2</sup> the great limner in little, but they deceived me, and so I went home, and there sat at my

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<sup>2</sup> The well-known Quaker. (M. B.)

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Cooper, the celebrated miniature painter. Ob. 1672.

lute and singing till almost twelve at night, and so to bed. Sir Richd. Fanshaw is come suddenly from Portugall, but nobody knows what his business is.

3rd. To Faithorne's,<sup>1</sup> and there bought some pictures of him ; and while I was there, comes by the King's life-guard, he being gone to Lincoln's Inne this afternoon to see the Revells there ; there being, according to an old custome, a prince and all his nobles, and other matters of sport and charge. So home, and up to my chamber to look over my papers and other things, my mind being much troubled for these four or five days because of my present great expense, and will be so till I cast up and see how my estate stands, and that I am loth to do for fear I have spent too much, and delay it the rather that I may pay for my pictures and my wife's, and the book that I am buying for Paul's Schoole before I do cast up my accompts.

4th. At home most of the morning hanging up pictures, and seeing how my pewter sconces that I have bought will become my stayres and entry. With Mr. Chetwin, who had a dog challenged of him by another man that said it was his, but Mr. Chetwin called the dog, and the dog at last would follow him, and not his old master. To Wilkinson's to dinner, where we had some rost beefe and a mutton pie, and a mince-pie, but none of them pleased me. After dinner by coach my wife and I home, and I to the

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<sup>1</sup> William Faithorne, the well-known engraver. Ob. 1691.



office, and there till late, and then I and my wife to Sir W. Pen's to cards and supper, and were merry, and much correspondence there has been between our two families this Christmas.

5th (Lord's day). My wife not well. I to church, and so home to dinner, and dined alone upon some marrow bones, and had a fine piece of rost beefe, but being alone I eat none. So after dinner comes in my brother Tom, and he tells me how he hath seen the father and mother of the girle which my cozen Joyces would have him to have for a wife, and they are much for it, but we are in a great quandary what to do therein, 200*l.* being but a little money; and I hope, if he continues as he begins, he may look out for one with more. To church, and before sermon there was a long psalm, and half another sung out while the Sexton gathered what the church would give him for this last year. I gave him 3*s.*, and have the last week given the Clerke 2*s.*, which I set down that I may know what to do the next year, if it please the Lord that I live so long; but the jest was, the Clerk begins the 25th psalm, which hath a proper tune to it, and then the 116th, which cannot be sung with that tune, which seemed very ridiculous. After church to Sir W. Batten's, where on purpose I have not been this fortnight, and I am resolved to keep myself more reserved to avoyd the contempt which otherwise I must fall into.

6th (Twelfth day). This morning I sent my lute to the Paynter's, and there I staid with him all the morn-

ing to see him paint the neck of my lute in my pictures, which I was not pleased with after it was done. Thence to dinner to Sir W. Pen's, it being a solemn feast day with him, his wedding day,<sup>1</sup> and we had, besides a good chine of beef and other good cheer, eighteen mince pies in a dish, the number of the years that he hath been married,<sup>2</sup> where Sir W. Batten and his Lady and daughter was, and Colonel Treswell and Major Holmes, who I perceive would fain get to be free and friends with my wife, but I shall prevent it, and she herself hath also a defiance against him. After dinner they set in to drinking, so that I would stay no longer, but went away home, and anon I went again after the company was gone, and sat and played at cards with Sir W. Pen and his children, and so after supper home.

7th. To the office. In the afternoon and at night to Sir W. Pen's, there supped and played at cards with them and were merry, the children being to go all away to schoole again to-morrow.

8th. To Westminster Hall upon several businesses. To dinner with my Lady, and so home, and so up to my study and read the two treaties before Mr. Selden's "Mare Clausum." This night come about 100*l.* from Brampton by carrier to me, in holsters from my father, which made me laugh.

9th. At the office all the morning private with Sir

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<sup>1</sup> Lady Penn was Margaret, daughter of Sir John Jasper, of Rotterdam.  
—*Life of Penn*, ii. 572.

<sup>2</sup> The same custom is noticed, Feb. 3, 1661-62.

G. Carteret, Sir W. Batten, and Sir W. Pen, about drawing up an answer to several demands of my Lord Treasurer, and late at it till 2 o'clock. Then to dinner, and so to the office again and sat till late. This morning we agreed upon some things to answer to the Duke about the practice of striking of the flags, which will now put me upon finishing my resolution of writing something upon the subject.

10th. To White Hall, and there spoke with Sir Paul Neale<sup>1</sup> about a mathematical request of my Lord's to him, which I did deliver to him, and he promised to employ somebody to answer it, something about observation of the moone and stars, but what I did not mind. An injuncon is granted in Chancery against T. Trice, at which I was very glad, being before in some trouble for it. To Westminster, by appointment, to meet my wife at Mrs. Hunt's to gossip with her, which we did alone, and were very merry, and did give her a cup and spoon for my wife's god-child.

11th. To the Exchange, and there all the news is of the French and Dutch joyning against us; but I do not think it yet true. In the afternoon to Sir W. Batten's, where in discourse I heard the custome of the election of the Duke of Genoa,<sup>2</sup> who for two years is every day attended in the greatest state, and

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Paul Neile, of White Waltham, Berks, son of Neile, Archbishop of York, an active member of the Royal Society.

<sup>2</sup> Readers will find a good account of the origin of the Ducal Government of Genoa in Hallam's "Middle Ages," vol. i., p. 468.

four or five hundred men always waiting upon him as a king ; and when the two years are out, and another is chose, a messenger is sent to him, who stands at the bottom of the stairs, and he at the top, and says, “ V<sup>a</sup>. Illustrissima Serenita sta finita, et puede andar en casa.” — “ Your serenity is now ended ; and now you may be going home : ” and so claps on his hat. And the old Duke (having by custom sent his goods home before), walks away, it may be but with one man at his heels ; and the new one brought immediately in his room, in the greatest state in the world. Another account was told us, how in the Dukedom of Ragusa, in the Adriatique (a State that is little, but more ancient, they say, than Venice, and is called the mother of Venice, and the Turkes lie round about it), that they change all the officers of their guard, for fear of conspiracy, every twenty-four hours, so that nobody knows who shall be captain of the guard to-night ; but two men come to a man, and lay hold of him as a prisoner, and carry him to the place ; and there he hath the keys of the garrison given him, and he presently issues his orders for that night’s watch : and so always from night to night. Sir Wm. Rider told the first of his own knowledge ; and both he and Sir W. Batten confirm the last.

12th (Lord’s day). To church. At noon Sir W. Pen and my good friend Deane Fuller, by appointment, dined with me very merry and handsomely.

13th. All the morning at home, and Mr. Berkenshaw (whom I have not seen a great while, came to

see me), who staid with me a great while talking of musique, and I am resolved to begin to learne of him to compose, and to begin to-morrow, he giving of me so great hopes that I shall soon do it. Before twelve o'clock comes, by appointment, Mr. Peter and the Deane,<sup>1</sup> and Collonel Honiwood, brothers, to dine with me ; but so soon that I was troubled at it. But, however, I entertained them with talk and oysters till one o'clock, and then we sat down to dinner, and so we dined very merry, at least I seemed so, but the dinner does not please me, and less the Deane and Collonel, whom I found to be pitiful sorry gentlemen, though good-natured, but Mr. Peter above them both, who after did show us the experiment (which I had heard talke of) of the chymicall glasses,<sup>2</sup> which break

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<sup>1</sup> These three brothers were the sons of Robert Honywood, of Charing, Kent, who had purchased the estate of Mark's Hall, in Essex; and whose mother, Mary Attwaters, after forty-four years of widowhood, died at ninety-three, having lived to see three hundred and sixty-seven of her own lawful descendants. Colonel Honywood and Peter seem, from subsequent notices in the Diary, to have been both knighted: but we find no particulars of their history. Michael Honywood, D.D., was rector of Kegworth, co. Leicester, and seeking refuge at Utrecht during the Rebellion, was, on his return, made Dean of Lincoln, and died in 1681, aged 85, having been generally considered a learned and holy man. The widow of Dean Honywood left his library to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln. Many early printed books of great rarity contained in this collection were dispersed under the auspices of Dean Gordon in 1817, and replaced by the purchase of modern works comparatively of no value. See Botfield's "Account of our Cathedral Libraries." In the "Topographer and Genealogist," No. V., there is a printed account of "Mary Honywood and her posterity," taken from a MS. of Peter Le Neve's, in the Landsdowne Collection, in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> They are formed by dropping melted glass into water. These drops are still called after Prince Rupert, who brought them out of Germany, where they were named "*Lacrymæ Batavicæ*." They consist of glass drops with

all to dust by breaking off a little small end ; which is a great mystery to me. They being gone, my aunt Wight and my wife to cards, she teaching of us how to play at gleeke,<sup>1</sup> which is a pretty game ; but I have not my head so free as to be troubled with it.

14th. All the morning at home, Mr. Berkenshaw<sup>2</sup> by appointment yesterday coming to me, and begun composition of musique. After dinner in the afternoon to the office. This day my brave vellum covers to keep pictures in, come in, which pleases me very much.

15th. This morning Mr. Berkenshaw came again, and after he had examined me and taught me something in my work, he and I went to breakfast in my chamber upon a collar of brawne, and after we had eaten, asked me whether we had not committed a fault in eating to-day ; telling me that it is a fast day ordered by the Parliament,<sup>3</sup> to pray for more seasonable

long and slender tails, which burst to pieces on the breaking off those tails in any part. The invention is thus alluded to in "*Hudibras*:" —

" Honour is like that glassy bubble  
That finds philosophers such trouble,  
Whose least part cracked, the whole does fly,  
And wits are cracked to find out why."

Part II., canto ii., line 385.

<sup>1</sup> A game at cards, played by three persons with forty-four cards, each hand having twelve, and eight being left for *the stock*. It was reckoned a very genteel game in Ben Jonson's time.

" Nor play with costarmongers at mumchance, tray-trip,  
But keep the gallant'st company and the best games,  
*Gleeke* and *primero*."

*Alchemist*, act v. sc. 4

See Nares' "*Glossary*." (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Pepys's music-master.

<sup>3</sup> On the 8th, a Proclamation was issued for a general fast to be observed

weather; it having hitherto been summer weather, that it is, both as to warmth and every other thing, just as if it were the middle of May or June, which do threaten a plague (as all men think) to follow, for so it was almost the last winter; and the whole year after hath been a very sickly time to this day.<sup>1</sup>

16th. Towards Cheapside; and in Paul's Church-yard saw the funeral of my Lord Cornwallis,<sup>2</sup> late Steward<sup>3</sup> of the King's House, a bold profane talking man, go by, and thence I to the Paynter's, and there paid him 6*l.* for the two pictures, and 36*s.* for the two frames. Stokes told us, that notwithstanding the country of Gambo<sup>4</sup> is so unhealthy, yet the people of the place live very long, so as the present king there is 150 years old, which they count by rains: because every year it rains continually four months together. He also told us, that the kings there have above 100 wives a-piece, and offered him the choice of any of his wives, and so he did Captain Holmes.

17th. To Westminster with Mr. Moore, and there I met with Lany, the Frenchman, who told me that

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in London and Westminster on the 15th, and in the rest of England on the 22nd, with prayers on occasion of "the present unseasonableness of the weather." William Lucy, Bishop of St. David's, preached before the House of Lords. Dr. Samuel Bolton and Dr. Bruno Ryves preached at St. Margaret's, before the House of Commons.

<sup>1</sup> The old proverb says truly, that "a green yule maketh a fat kirk-yard." Apples were growing at this time.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, April 23, 1661, note.

<sup>3</sup> This should be Treasurer.

<sup>4</sup> Gambia, on the western coast of Africa, then recently possessed by the English. Its unhealthy character is still, alas! well proved by our cruisers against the slave trade.

he had a letter from France last night, that tells him that my Lord Hinchinbroke is dead, and that he did die yesterday was se'nnight, which do surprise me exceedingly (though we know that he hath been sick these two months), so I hardly ever was in my life; but being fearfull that my Lady should come to hear it too suddenly, he and I went up to my Lord Crew's, and there I dined with him, and after dinner we told him, and the whole family is much disturbed by it: so we consulted what to do to tell my Lady of it; and at last we thought of my going first to Mr. George Montagu's to hear whether he had any news of it, which I did, and there found all his house in great heaviness for the death of his son, Mr. George Montagu, who did go with our young gentlemen into France, and that they hear nothing at all of our young Lord; so believing that thence comes the mistake, I returned to my Lord Crew (in my way in the Piazza seeing a house on fire, and all the streets full of people to quench it), and told them of it, which they are much glad of, and conclude, and so I hope, that my Lord is well; and so I went to my Lady Sandwich, and told her all, and after much talk I parted thence with my wife, who had been there all the day, and so home to my musique, and then to bed.

18th. Comes Mr. Moore to give me an account how Mr. Montagu<sup>1</sup> was gone away of a sudden

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<sup>1</sup> Edward Montagu, noticed 20th April, 1660, dying unmarried, s. p., his brother Ralph succeeded, as third Lord Montagu of Boughton, and was created an Earl in 1689, and in 1705 Duke of Montagu. He was Ambassador to



with the fleet, in such haste that he hath left behind some servants, and many things of consequence ; and among others, my Lord's commission for Ambassador. Whereupon he and I took coach, and to White Hall to my Lord's lodgings, to have spoke with Mr. Ralph Montagu,<sup>1</sup> his brother (and here we staid talking with Sarah and the old man) ; but by and by hearing that he was in Covent Garden, we went thither : and at my Lady Harvy's, his sister, I spoke with him, and he tells me that the commission is not left behind.

19th (Lord's day). To church in the morning, where Mr. Mills preached upon Christ's being offered up for our sins, and there proving the equity with what justice God would lay our sins upon his Son, he did make such a sermon (among other things pleading, from God's universal sovereignty over all his creatures, the power he has of commanding what he would of his Son by the same rule as that he might have made us all, and the whole world from the beginning to have been in hell, arguing from the power the potter has over his clay), that I could have wished he had let it alone ; and speaking again, the Father is now so satisfied by our security for our debt, that we might

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France from 1668 to 1672: and some of his letters were used for the impeachment of the Earl of Danby, afterwards Duke of Leeds. He died in 1709. His sister Elizabeth had married Sir Daniel Harvey, who was knighted by Charles II. at his first landing, and was sent, in 1668, Ambassador to Constantinople.

<sup>1</sup> Ralph, eldest son of Edward, second Baron Montagu, of Boughton; created Duke of Montagu, and died 1709. His sister Elizabeth had married Sir D. Harvey, Knt., Ambassador to Constantinople.

say at the last day as many of us as have interest in Christ's death : Lord, we owe thee nothing, our debt is paid thee to the full ; which methinks were very bold words. Home to dinner, and then my wife and I on foot to see Mrs. Turner, who continues still sick, and thence into the Old Bayly by appointment to speak with Mrs. Norbury, who lies (it falls out) next door to my uncle Fenner's ; but as God would have it, we having no desire to be seen by his people, he having lately married a midwife that is old and ugly, and that hath already brought home to him a daughter and three children, we were let in at a back doore. And here she offered me the refusall of some lands of her's at Brampton, if I have a mind to buy, which I answered her I was not at present provided to do. Thence to my uncle Wight's, and there we supped and were merry, though my uncle hath lately lost 200 or 300 at sea, and I am troubled to hear that the Turkes do take more and more of our ships in the Straights, and that our merchants here in London do daily break, and are still likely to do so. So home and to prayers, and to bed.

20th. This morning Sir Wm. Batten and Pen and I did begin the examining the Treasurer's accounts, and we were all at it till noon, and then to dinner, he providing a fine dinner for us, and we eat it at Sir W. Batten's, where we were very merry. Mr. Morrice, the wine cooper, this day did divide the two butts, which we four did send for, of sherry from Cales, and mine was put into a hogshead, and the vessel filled

up with four gallons of Malaga wine, but what it will stand us in I know not: but it is the first great quantity of wine that I ever bought.

21st. To the finishing of the Treasurer's accounts this morning, and then to dinner again, and were merry as yesterday, and so home, and then to the office till night, and then home to write letters, and to practise my composition of musique, and then to bed. We have heard nothing yet how far the fleet hath got toward Portugall, but the wind being changed again, we fear they are stopped, and may be beat back again to the coast of Ireland.

22d. After musique-practice, to White Hall, and thence to Westminster, in my way calling at Mr. George Montagu's,<sup>1</sup> to condole on the loss of his son, who was a fine gentleman, and it is no doubt a great discomfort to our two young gentlemen, his companions in France. After this discourse he told me, among other news, the great jealousys that are now in the Parliament House. The Lord Chancellor, it seems, taking occasion from this late plot to raise fears in the people, did project the raising of an army forthwith, besides the constant militia, thinking to make the Duke of York General thereof. But the House did, in very open termes, say, they were grown too wise to be fooled again into another army; and said they had found how that man that hath the com-

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Montagu, first Earl of Manchester, had numerous issue by his first lady; but George, here mentioned, was the eldest son of Margaret Crouch, the Earl's third wife. See also 7th March, 1660, *ante*.

mand of an army is not beholden to any body to make him King. There are factions (private ones at Court) about Madam Palmer; but what it is about I know not. But it is something about the King's favour to her now that the Queene is coming. He told me, too, what sport the King and Court do make at Mr. Edward Montagu's leaving his things behind him. But the Chancellor (taking it a little more seriously) did openly say to my Lord Chamberlaine, that had it been such a gallant as my Lord Mandeville<sup>1</sup> his son, it might have been taken as a frolique; but for him that would be thought a grave coxcombe, it was very strange. Thence to the Hall, where I heard the House had ordered all the King's murderers, that remain, to be executed, but Fleetwood<sup>2</sup> and Downes.

23rd. All the morning with Mr. Berkenshaw, and in the afternoon by coach by invitacon to my uncle Fenner's, where I found his new wife, a pitiful, old, ugly, ill-bred woman in a hatt, a midwife. Here were many of his, and as many of her relations, sorry, mean people; and after choosing our gloves, we all went over to the Three Crane Taverne,<sup>3</sup> and though

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Mandeville was a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles II. He became Earl of Manchester on his father's death, and died at Paris in 1682.

<sup>2</sup> Charles, son of Sir Wm. Fleetwood, Knt., General and Commander in Chief to the Protector Richard, whose sister, Bridget, widow of Ireton, he had married. After the King's return he lived in contemptible obscurity, and died circa 1689.

<sup>3</sup> In Upper Thames Street.

the best room in the house, in such a narrow dogghole we were crammed, and I believe we were near forty, that it made me loathe my company and victuals; and a sorry poor dinner it was too. After dinner, I took aside the two Joyces, and took occasion to thank them for their kind thoughts for a wife for Tom: but that considering the possibility there is of my having no child, and what then I shall be able to leave him, I do think he may expect in that respect a wife with more money, and so desired them to think no more of it.

24th. This morning came my cozen Thos. Pepys the Executor, to speak with me, and I had much talke with him both about matters of money which my Lord Sandwich has of his and I am bond for, as also of my uncle Thomas, who I hear by him do stand upon very high terms. Thence to the Wardrobe, where very merry with my Lady, and after dinner I sent for the pictures<sup>1</sup> thither, and mine is well liked; but she is much offended with my wife's, and I am of her opinion, that it do much wrong her; but I will have it altered. So home, in my way calling at Pope's Head alley, and there bought me a pair of scissars and a brasse square. So home and to my study and to bed.

25th. At home and the office all the morning. Walking in the garden<sup>2</sup> to give the gardener direc-

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<sup>1</sup> Painted by Savill.

<sup>2</sup> "I remember your honour very well, when you newly came out of France, and wore pantaloon breeches; at which time your late honoured

tions what to do this year (for I intend to have the garden handsome), Sir W. Pen came to me, and did break a business to me about removing his son from Oxford to Cambridge to some private college. I proposed Magdalen, but cannot name a tutor at present; but I shall think and write about it. Thence with him to the Trinity-house to dinner; where Sir Richard Brown,<sup>1</sup> one of the clerkes of the Council, and who is much concerned against Sir N. Crisp's project of making a great sasse<sup>3</sup> in the King's lands about Deptford, to be a wett-dock to hold 200 sail of ships. But the ground, it seems, was long since given by the King to Sir Richard. After the Trinity-house men had done their business, the master, Sir William Rider, came to bid us welcome; and so to dinner, where good cheere and discourse, but I eat a little too much beef. Thence to supper with my wife to

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father [Sir W. Penn] dwelt in the Navy Office, in that apartment the Lord Viscount Brouncker dwelt in afterwards, which was on the north part of the Navy Office garden." — P. GIBSON of Penn ye Quaker, *Life of Penn*, ii. 616.

<sup>1</sup> He had been gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Charles I., and Resident in France for that monarch. He was created a Baronet 1st September, 1649, and died 10th February, 1683. Much is said of him in the "Diary" of John Evelyn, who married his only child and heir; and thus became possessor of Sayes Court. Part of Deptford Dockyard is still held under the Evelyn family. The plans, on a large scale, of Sayes Court, and Deptford Dockyard, executed by Joel Gascoyne, in 1692, probably for Evelyn himself, are in the British Museum, together with plans of the dockyard as it existed in 1688, 1698, and 1774, respectively; and also other plans of the docks made for the Evelyns.

<sup>2</sup> "Sasse, a sluice, or lock, used in water-works." — *Bailey's Dictionary*. This project is mentioned by Evelyn, and Lysons's "*Environs*," vol. iv. p. 392.

Sir W. Pen's. While we were at supper comes Mr. Moore with letters from my Lord Sandwich, speaking of his lying still at Tangier, looking for the fleet ; which, we hope, is now in a good way thither.

26th (Lord's day). To church in the morning, and then home to dinner alone with my wife, and so both to church in the afternoon. It having been a very fine clear frosty day — God send us more of them ! — for the warm weather all this winter makes us fear a sickly summer. But thanks be to God, since my leaving drinking of wine, I do find myself much better and do mind my business better, and do spend less money, and less time lost in idle company.

27th. This morning, both Sir Williams and I by barge to Deptford-yard to give orders in businesses there ; and called on several ships, also to give orders, and so to Woolwich, and there dined at Mr. Falconer's of victuals we carried ourselves, and one Mr. Dekins, the father of my Morena,<sup>1</sup> of whom we have lately bought some hempe. That being done we went home again. This morning, going to take water upon Tower-hill, we met with three sleddes standing there to carry my Lord Monson<sup>2</sup> and Sir H. Mild-

<sup>1</sup> This settles the disputed point who Morena was and who her father was In the Portuguese language "morena" signifies "brunette." See Diary, 6th October, 1661 : "There was also my pretty *black girle*, Mrs. Dekins," &c. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> William, second son of Sir Thomas Monson, Bart.; created by Charles I. Viscount Castlemaine of the kingdom of Ireland ; notwithstanding which, he was instrumental in his Majesty's death : and in 1661, being degraded of his honours, was sentenced, with Sir Henry Mildmay, and Mr. Robert

may<sup>1</sup> and another,<sup>2</sup> to the gallows and back again. with ropes about their necks ; which is to be repeated every year, this being the day of their sentencing the King.

28th. This morning with my wife to the Paynter's, where we staid very late to have her picture mended, which at last is come to be very like her, and I think well done ; but the Paynter, though a very honest man, I found to be very silly as to matter of skill in shadows, for we were long in discourse, till I was almost angry to hear him talk so simply.

29th. To Westminster, and at the Parliament doore spoke with Mr. Coventry about business, and so to the Wardrobe to dinner, and so home, where I found Mrs.

Wallop, to be drawn on sledges, with ropes round their necks, to Tyburn, and back to the Tower, there to remain prisoners for life. None of their names were subscribed to the King's sentence. An account of this ceremony was printed at the time, entitled "The Traytor's Pilgrimage from the Tower to Tyburn, being a true relation of the drawing of William Lord Mounson, Sir Henry Mildmay, and 'Squire Wallop . . . with the manner of the proceedings at Tyburn, in order to the degrading and divesting of them of their former titles of honour, and their declaratory speeches to both the right worshipful Sheriffs of London and Middlesex." The late Lord Monson and the present Lord Sondes are descended from the eldest son of Sir Thomas Monson. Viscount Monson left one son by his second wife, Alston Monson, who died s. p. in 1674. — COLLINS'S *Peerage*.

<sup>1</sup> Sir H. Mildmay had enjoyed the confidence of Charles I., who made him Master of the Jewels ; but he sat a few days as one of the King's Judges. He died at Antwerp. His estate of Wansted was confiscated, and was given to Sir Robert Brookes ; and by him, or his heirs, or creditors, alienated in 1667 to Sir Josiah Childe, ancestor of the Earl Tylney. See May 14, 1665. It is now Lord Mornington's, in right of his first wife. Sir Henry Mildmay's other estates were saved by being settled on his marriage.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Wallop, the direct ancestor of the present Earl of Portsmouth. He died in the Tower, November 16, 1667.



Pen and Mrs. Rooth and Smith, who played at cards with my wife, and I did give them a barrel of oysters, and had a pullet to supper for them, and when it was ready to come to table, the foolish girle had not the manners to stay and sup with me, but went away, which did vex me cruelly. So I saw her home, and then to supper, and so to musique practice, and to bed.

30th. Fast-day for the murthering of the late King. I went to church, and Mr. Mills made a good sermon upon David's words, "Who can lay his hands upon the Lord's Anoynted and be guiltlesse?" So home and to dinner, and employed all the afternoon in my chamber, setting things and papers to rights, which pleased me very well, and I think I shall begin to take pleasure in being at home and minding my business. I pray God I may, for I finde a great need thereof. At night to supper and to bed.

31st. All the morning, after musique practice, in my cellar, ordering some alteracons therein, being much pleased with my new doore into the back yard. So to dinner, and all the afternoon thinking upon business.

February 1st. This morning with Commissioner Pett to the office; and he staid there writing, while I and Sir W. Pen walked in the garden talking about his business of putting his son to Cambridge; and to that end I intend to write to-night to Dr. Fairebrother, to give me an account of Mr. Burton<sup>1</sup> of Magda-

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<sup>1</sup> Hezekiah Burton, S.T.B. 1661.

len. Thence with Mr. Pett to the Paynter's ; and he likes our pictures very well, and so do I. Thence he and I to the Countesse of Sandwich, to lead him to her to kiss her hands : and dined with her, and told her the news (which Sir W. Pen told me to-day) that expresse is come from my Lord with letters, that by a great storm and tempest the mole of Argier<sup>1</sup> is broken down, and many of their ships sunk into the mole. So that God Almighty hath now ended that unlucky business for us ; which is very good news.

2nd (Lord's day). To church in the morning, and then home and dined with my wife, and so both of us to church again, where we had an Oxford man give us a most impertinent sermon upon " Cast your bread upon the waters," &c.

3rd. After musique practice I went to the office, and there with the two Sir Williams all the morning about business, and at noon I dined with Sir W. Batten with many friends more, it being his wedding-day, and among other froliques, it being their third year, they had three pyes, whereof the middlemost was made of an ovall form, in an ovall hole within the other two, which made much mirth, and was called the middle piece ; and above all the rest, we had great striving to steal a spooneful out of it ; and I remember Mrs. Mills, the minister's wife, did steal one for me and did give it me ; and to end all, Mrs. Shipp-

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<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* Algiers. (M. B.)

man did fill the pye full of white wine, it holding at least a pint and a half, and did drink it off for a health to Sir William and my Lady, it being the greatest draft that ever I did see a woman drink in my life. I went along with my lady and the rest of the gentlewomen to Major Holmes's, and there we had a fine supper, among others, excellent lobsters, which I never eat at this time of the year before. The Major hath good lodgings at the Trinity House. At last home, and, being in my chamber, we do hear great noise of mirth at Sir William Batten's, tearing the ribbands<sup>1</sup> from my Lady and him.

4th. To Westminster Hall, where it was full terme. Here all the morning, and at noon to my Lord Crew's, where one Mr. Templer<sup>2</sup> (an ingenious man and a person of honour he seems to be) dined; and, discoursing of the nature of serpents, he told us some that in the waste places of Lancashire do grow to a great bigness, and that do feed upon larkes, which they take thus:—They observe when the larke is soared to the highest, and do crawl till they come to be just underneath them; and there they place themselves with their mouths uppermost, and there, as is conceived, they do eject poyson up to the bird; for the bird do suddenly come down again in its course of a circle, and falls directly into the mouth of the serpent; which is very strange. He is a great traveller;

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<sup>1</sup> As if they were a newly-married couple. See 26th January, 1660-1, and 8th February, 1662-3. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Probably Benjamin Templer, rector of Ashby, in Northamptonshire.

and speaking of the tarantula, he says that all the harvest long (about which times they are most busy) there are fiddlers go up and down the fields every where, in expectation of being hired by those that are stung. This afternoon, going into the office, one met me and did serve a subpoena<sup>1</sup> upon me for one Field, whom we did commit to prison<sup>1</sup> the other day for some ill words he did give the office. The like he had for others, but we shall scoure him for it.

5th. Early at the office. Sir G. Carteret, the two Sir Williams and myself all alone reading of the Duke's institutions for the settlement of our office, whereof we read as much as concerns our own duties, and left the other officers for another time. At noon Sir W. Pen dined with me, and after dinner he and I and my wife to the Theatre, and there saw "Rule a Wife and have a Wife"<sup>2</sup> very well done. And here also I did look long upon my Lady Castlemaine, who, notwithstanding her late sickness, continues a great beauty.

6th. At my musique practice, and so into my cellar to my workmen, and I am very much pleased with my alteracon there. About noon comes my uncle Thomas to me to ask for his annuity, and I did tell him my mind freely. We had some high words, but I was willing to end all in peace, and so I made him dine with me, and I have hopes to work my end upon him. After dinner the barber trimmed me, and so

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<sup>1</sup> Which afterwards caused Pepys much trouble.

<sup>2</sup> A Comedy, by J. Fletcher.

to the office, where I do begin to be exact in my duty there and exacting my privileges, and shall continue to do so.

7th. By water to Westminster with Commissioner Pett (landing my wife at Black Friars) where I hear the prisoners in the Tower that are to die are come to the Parliament-house this morning. To the Wardrobe to dinner with my Lady; where a civitt cat, parrot, apes, and many other things are come from my Lord by Captain Hill, who dined with my Lady with us to-day. Thence to the Paynter's, and am well pleased with our pictures. By and by, hearing that Mr. Turner was much troubled at what I do in the office, and do give ill words to Sir W. Pen and others of me, I am much troubled in my mind, and so went to bed; not that I fear him at all, but the natural aptnesse I have to be troubled at any thing that crosses me.

8th. All the morning in the cellar with the colliers, removing the coles out of the old cole hole into the new one, which cost me 8s. the doing; but now the cellar is done and made clean, it do please me exceedingly. I pray God keep me from setting my mind too much upon it. So to the office, and thence to talk with Sir W. Pen, walking in the dark in the garden some turns, he telling me of the ill management of our office.

9th (Lord's day). I took physique this day, and was all day in my chamber, talking with my wife about her laying out of £20, which I had long since promised her to lay out in clothes against Easter for herself,

and composing some ayres, God forgive me ! At night to prayers and to bed.

10th. Musique practice a good while, then to Paul's Church-yard, and there I met with Dr. Fuller's "England's Worthys," the first time that I ever saw it ; and so I sat down reading in it ; being much troubled that (though he had some discourse with me about my family and armes) he says nothing at all, nor mentions us either in Cambridgeshire or Norfolk. But I believe, indeed, our family were never considerable.

11th. Dined at home ; at the office in the afternoon. So home to musique, my mind being full of our alteracons in the garden. At night begun to compose songs, and begin with "Gaze not on Swans."<sup>1</sup>

12th. This morning, till four in the afternoon, I spent abroad, doing of many and considerable businesses, so home with my mind very highly contented with my day's work, wishing I could do so every day. This night I had half a 100 poore Jack sent me by Mr. Adis.

13th. Mr. Blackburne do tell me plain of the corruption of all our Treasurer's officers, and that they hardly pay any money under ten per cent. ; and that the other day, for a mere assignation of 200*l.* to some counties, they took 15*l.*, which is very strange. Last night died the Queene of Bohemia.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The poetry of the song, "Gaze not on Swans," is by H. Noel, and set to music by H. Lawes, in his "Ayres and Dialogues," 1653.

<sup>2</sup> At Leicester House, on the north side of the present Leicester Square,

14th (Valentine's day). I did this day purposely shun to be seen at Sir W. Batten's, because I would not have his daughter to be my Valentine, as she was the last year, there being no great friendship between us now, as formerly. This morning in comes W. Bowyer, who was my wife's Valentine, she having, at which I made good sport to myself, held her hands all the morning, that she might not see the paynters that were at work in gilding my chimney-piece and pictures in my dining-room. By and by she and I by coach with him to Westminster. I walked in the Hall, and there among others met with Serj<sup>t</sup> Pierce, and I took him aside to drink a cup of ale, and he told the basest thing of Mr. Montagu's and his man Eschar's going away in debt, that I am troubled and ashamed, but glad to be informed of. He thinks he has left 1,000*l.* for my Lord to pay, and that he has not laid out 3,000*l.* out of the 5,000*l.* for my Lord's use, and is not able to make an account of any of the money.

15th. With the two Sir Williams to the Trinity-house;<sup>1</sup> and there in their society had the business debated of Sir Nicholas Crisp's sasse at Deptford. After dinner I was sworn a Younger Brother; Sir W. Rider being Deputy-Master for my Lord of Sandwich; and after I was sworn, all the Elder Brothers shake me

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to which she had removed only five days previously from Drury House, in Drury Lane, the residence of Lord Craven, to whom it has been asserted that she was married.

<sup>1</sup> In Water Lane.

by the hand: it is their custom, it seems. No news yet of our fleet gone to Tangier, which we now begin to think long,

16th (Lord's day). To church this morning, and so home and to dinner. In the afternoon I walked to St. Bride's to church, to hear Dr. Jacomb preach upon the recovery, and at the request of Mrs. Turner, who came abroad this day, the first time since her long sickness. He preached upon David's words, "I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord," and made a pretty good sermon, though not extraordinary. After sermon I led her home, and sat with her, and there was the Dr. got before; but strange what a command he hath got over Mrs. Turner, who was so carefull to get him what he would, after his preaching, to drink, and he, with a cunning gravity, knows how to command, and had it, and among other things told us that he heard more of the Common Prayer this afternoon (while he stood in the vestry, before he went up into the pulpitt) than he had heard this twenty years. Thence to my uncle Wight and supped, and so home, not being very well. So to prayer sand to bed, and there had a good draft of mulled ale brought me.

17th. This morning, both Sir Williams, myself, and Captain Cocke and Captain Tinker of the *Convertine*,<sup>1</sup> which we are going to look upon (being intended to go with these ships fitting for the East Indys), down

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<sup>1</sup> A fourth-rate, of 48 guns; in 1665 it was commanded by Captain John Pearce.



to Deptford ; and thence, after being on shipboard, to Woolwich, and there eat something. The Sir Williams being unwilling to eat flesh, Captain Cocke and I had a breast of veale roasted.<sup>1</sup> And here I drank wine upon necessity, being ill for want of it, and I find reason to fear that by my too sudden leaving off wine, I do contract many evils upon myself. Going and coming we played at gleeke,<sup>2</sup> and I won 9s. 6d. clear, the most that ever I won in my life. I pray God it may not tempt me to play again.

18th. Having agreed with Sir Wm. Pen and my wife to meet them at the Opera, and finding by my walking in the streets, which were every where full of brick-battes and tyles flung down by the extraordinary winde the last night<sup>3</sup> (such as hath not been in memory before, unless at the death of the late Protector), that it was dangerous to go out of doors ; and hearing

<sup>1</sup> Eat flesh in Lent, of which the observance, intermitted for nineteen years, was now reviving. We have seen that Pepys, as yet, had not cast off all show of puritanism. "In this month the Fishmongers' Company petitioned the King that Lent might be kept, because they had provided abundance of fish for this season, and their prayer was granted." — RUGGE.

<sup>2</sup> See 13th January, 1661-2. (M. B.)

<sup>3</sup> "A dreadful storm of wind happened one night in February, anno 1661-2, which, though general, at least all over England, yet was remarkable at Oxford in these two respects: — 1. That though it forced the stones inwards into the cavity of Allhallows' spire, yet it overthrew it not. And 2. That in the morning, when there was some abatement of its fury, it was yet so violent, that it laved water out of the river Cherwell, and cast it quite over the bridge at Magdalen College, above the surface of the water, near twenty foot high: which passage, with advantage of holding by the College wall, I had then curiosity to go to see myself, which otherwise perhaps I should have as hardly credited, as some other persons now may do." — PLOT's *Natural History of Oxfordshire*, p. 5.

how several persons had been killed to-day by the fall of things in the streets, and that the pageant in Fleet-streete is most of it blown down, and hath broke down part of several houses, among others Dick Brigden's; and that one Lady Sanderson,<sup>1</sup> a person of quality in Covent Garden, was killed by the fall of the house, in her bed, last night; I sent my boy home to forbid them to go forth. But he bringing me word that they are gone, I went thither and there saw "The Law against Lovers,"<sup>2</sup> a good play and well performed, especially the little girl's (whom I never saw act before) dancing and singing; and were it not for her, the losse of Roxalana<sup>3</sup> would spoil the house.

19th. Musique practice: thence to the Trinity House to conclude upon our report of Sir N. Crisp's project who came to us to answer objections, but we did give him no eare, but are resolved to stand to our report; though I could wish we had shewn him more

<sup>1</sup> This was not the mother of the maids.

<sup>2</sup> A tragi-comedy by Sir William Davenant; taken from "Measure for Measure," and "Much Ado about Nothing."

<sup>3</sup> This actress, so called from the character she played in the "Siege of Rhodes," was Elizabeth Davenport. Evelyn saw her on the 9th Jan. 1661-2, she being soon after taken to be "My Lord Oxford's Miss;" but she returned to the stage within a year. See May 20th, *post*. She was induced to marry the Earl of Oxford, after indignantly refusing to become his mistress, and discovered, when too late, that the nuptial ceremony had been performed by the Earl's trumpeter, in the habit of a priest. For more of her history, see "Mémoires de Grammont." Ashmole records the birth of the Earl of Oxford's son, by Roxalana, 17th April, 1664, which shows that the *liaison* continued after her return to the stage. (*Cat.* p. 205.) The child was called Aubrey Vere. — WARD'S *Diary*, p. 131.

justice and had heard him. Thence to the Wardrobe and dined with my Lady.

20th. Letters from Tangier from my Lord, telling me how, upon a great defete given to the Portuguese there by the Moors, he had put in 300 men into the towne, and so he is in possession,<sup>1</sup> of which we are very glad, because now the Spaniard's designs of hindering our getting the place are frustrated. I went with the letter inclosed to my Lord Chancellor to the House of Lords, and did give it him in the House. Went by promise to Mr. Savill's, and there sat the first time for my picture in little, which pleaseth me well.

21st. All the morning putting things in my house

<sup>1</sup> "*Sunday, Jan. 12.* This morning, the Portuguese, 140 horse in Tangier, made a salley into the country for booty, whereof they had possessed about 400 cattle, 30 camels, and some horses, and 35 women and girls, and being six miles distant from Tangier, were intercepted by 100 Moors with harquebusses, who in the first charge killed the Aidill with a shot in the head, whereupon the rest of the Portuguese ran, and in the pursuit 51 were slain, whereof were 11 of the knights, besides the Aidill. The horses of the 51 were also taken by the Moors, and all the booty relieved.

"*Tuesday, Jan. 14.* This morning, Mr. Mules came to me from the Governor, for the assistance of some of our men into the castle.

"*Thursday, Jan. 16.* About 80 men out of my own ship, and the Princess, went into Tangier, into the lower castle, about four of the clock in the afternoon.

"*Friday, Jan. 17.* In the morning, by eight o'clock, the Martyn came in from Cales (*Cádiz*) with provisions, and about ten a clock I sent Sir Richard Stayner, with 120 men, besides officers, to the assistance of the Governor, into Tangier." — LORD SANDWICH'S *Journal*, in Kennett's "Register."

On the 23rd Lord Sandwich put one hundred more men into Tangier; on the 29th and 30th, Lord Peterborough and his garrison arrived from England, and received possession from the Portuguese; and, on the 31st, Sir Richard Stayner and the seamen re-embarked on board Lord Sandwich's fleet.

in order, and packing up glass to send into the country to my father, and books to my brother John, and then to my Lord Crew's to dinner.

22nd. At the office busy all the morning, and thence to dinner to my Lady Sandwich's, and thence with Mr. Moore to our Attorney, Wellpoole's, and there found that Godfry has basely taken out a judgment against us for the 40*l.*, for which I am vexed. So home, and hither came Mr. Savill with the pictures, and we hung them up in our dining-room. It comes now to appear very handsome with all my pictures. This evening I wrote letters to my father; among other things acquainting him with the unhappy accident which hath happened lately to my Lord of Dorset's two oldest sons, who, with two Belasses and one Squire Wentworth, were lately apprehended for killing and robbing of a tanner about Newington on Wednesday last, and are all now in Newgate. I am much troubled for it, and for the grief and disgrace it brings to their familys and friends.<sup>1</sup>

23rd (Lord's day). My cold being increased, I

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<sup>1</sup> The following account of this transaction is abridged from the "*Mercurius Publicus*" of the day: "Charles Lord Buckhurst, Edward Sackville, Esq., his brother; Sir Henry Belasyse, K.B., eldest son of Lord Belasyse; John Belasyse, brother to Lord Faulconberg; and Thomas Wentworth, Esq., only son of Sir G. Wentworth, whilst in pursuit of thieves near Waltham Cross, mortally wounded an innocent tanner named Hoppy, whom they had endeavoured to secure, suspecting him to have been one of the robbers; and as they took away the money found on his person, under the idea that it was stolen property, they were soon after apprehended on the charges of robbery and murder; but the Grand Jury found a bill for manslaughter only." By a subsequent allusion in the Diary to their trial, it seems probable that a verdict of acquittal was pronounced.

staid at home all day, pleasing myself with my dining-room, now graced with pictures, and reading of Dr. Fuller's "Worthys." So I spent the day, and at night comes Sir W. Pen and supped and talked with me. This day by God's mercy I am 29 years of age, and in very good health, and like to live and get an estate ; and if I have a heart to be contented, I think I may reckon myself as happy a man as any is in the world, for which God be praised. So to prayers and to bed.

24th. Long with Mr. Berkenshaw in the morning at my musique practice, finishing my song of "Gaze not on Swans," in two parts, which pleases me well, and I did give him 5*l.* for this month or five weeks that he hath taught me, which is a great deal of money and troubled me to part with it. Thence to the Paynter's, and set again for my picture in little, and thence over the water to Southwarke to Mr. Berkenshaw's house, and there sat with him all the afternoon, he showing me his great card of the body of musique, which he cries up for a rare thing, and I do believe it cost much pains, but is not so useful as he would have it. Then we sat down and set "Nulla, nulla sit formido," and he has set it very finely. So home and to supper, and then called Will up, and chid him before my wife for refusing to go to church with the mayds yesterday, and telling his mistress that he would not be made a slave of, which vexes me. So to bed.

25th. Great talk of the effects of this late great wind ; and I heard one say that he had five great

trees standing together blown down ; and, beginning to lop them, one of them, as soon as the lops were cut off, did, by the weight of the root, rise again and fasten. We have letters from the forest of Deane, that above 1000 oakes and as many beeches are blown down in one walke there. And letters from my father tell me of 20*l.* hurt done to us at Brampton. This day in the news-booke I find that my Lord Buckhurst<sup>1</sup> and his fellows have printed their case as they did give it in upon examination to a Justice of Peace, wherein they make themselves a very good tale that they were in pursuit of thieves, and that they took this man for one of them, and so killed him ; and that he himself confessed it was the first time of his robbing ; and that he did pay dearly for it, for he was a dead man. But I doubt things will be proved otherwise, as they say.

26th. Mr. Berkenshaw with me all the morning composing of musique to “This cursed jealousy what is it?” After dinner I went to my Bookseller’s and other places to pay my debts, I being resolved to cast up my accounts within a day or two for I fear I have run out too far.

27th. This morning came Mr. Berkenshaw to me and in our discourse I, finding that he cries up his rules for most perfect (though I do grant them to be very good, and the best I believe that ever yet were

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Lord Buckhurst, eldest son of Richard, fifth Earl of Dorset; created Earl of Middlesex soon after his uncle’s death, in 1675, and succeeded his father in 1677. Ob. 1705-6.

made), and that I could not persuade him to grant wherein they were somewhat lame, we fell to angry words, so that in a pet he flung out of my chamber and I never stopped him, having intended to put him off to-day, whether this had happened or no, because I think I have all the rules that he hath to give.

28th. The boy failing to call us up as I commanded, I was angry, and resolved to whip him for that and many other faults, to-day. Early with Sir W. Pen by coach to Whitehall, to the Duke of York's chamber, and there I presented him from my Lord a fine map of Tangier, done by one Captain Beckman,<sup>1</sup> a Swede, that is with my Lord. We staid looking it over a great while with the Duke after he was ready. Home, and to be as good as my word, I bade Will get me a rod, and he and I called the boy up to one of the upper rooms of the Comptroller's house towards the garden, and there I reckoned all his faults, and whipped him soundly, but the rods were so small that I fear they did not much hurt to him, but only to my arm, which I am already, within a quarter of an houre, not able to stir almost.

March 1st. This morning I paid Sir W. Batten 40*l.*, which I have owed him this half year. Then to the office all the morning, so dined at home, and after dinner my wife and I by coach, first to see my little

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<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Sir Martin Beckman, many of whose plans are in the British Museum. He became chief engineer, and was knighted 20th March, 1685. The Map of Tangier here mentioned is in the Collection of George III. at the British Museum.



picture that is a drawing, and thence to the Opera, and there saw "Romeo and Juliet,"<sup>1</sup> the first time it was ever acted; but it is a play of itself the worst that ever I heard in my life, and the worst acted that ever I saw these people do, and I am resolved to go no more to see the first time of acting, for they were all of them out more or less. I do find that I am 500*l.* beforehand in the world, which I was afraid I was not, but I find that I had spent above 250*l.* this last half year, which troubles me much, but by God's blessing I am resolved to take up, having furnished myself with all things for a great while, and to-morrow to think upon some rules and obligations upon myself to walk by.

2nd (Lord's day). With my mind much eased talking long in bed with my wife about our frugal life for the time to come, proposing to her what I could and would do if I were worth 2,000*l.*, that is, be a knight, and keep my coach,<sup>2</sup> which pleased her, and so I do hope we shall hereafter live to save something, for I am resolved to keep myself by rules from expenses. To church in the morning: none in the pew but myself. So home to dinner, and after dinner came Sir William and talked with me till church time, and then to church.

3rd. I do find a great deal more of content in

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<sup>1</sup> Betterton played Romeo, and his wife Juliet.

<sup>2</sup> This reminds me of a story of my father's, when he was of Merton College, and heard Bowen the porter wish that he had £100 a year, to enable him to keep a couple of hunters and a pack of foxhounds.



these few days, that I do spend well about my business, than in all the pleasure of a whole week, besides the trouble which I remember I always have after that for the expense of my money. I am told that this day the Parliament hath voted 2*s.* per annum for every chimney in England, as a constant revenue for ever to the Crowne.

4th. At the office all the morning, dined at home at noon, and then to the office again in the afternoon. By and by Sir W. Pen and I and my wife in his coach to Moore Fields, where we walked a great while, though it was no fair weather and cold; and after our walk we went to the Pope's Head,<sup>1</sup> and eat cakes and other fine things.

5th. To the pewterer's, to buy a poore's-box to put my forfeits in, upon breach of my late vows. So to the Wardrobe and dined, and thence home and to my office, and there sat looking over my papers of my voyage, when we fetched over the King, and tore so many of these that were worth nothing, as filled my closet as high as my knees.

6th. Up early, my mind full of business, then to the office, where the two Sir Williams and I spent the morning passing the victualler's accounts, the first I have had to do withal; after dinner to the office back again till night, we having been these four or five days very full of business, and I thank God I am well pleased with it, and hope I shall continue of that

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<sup>1</sup> In Cornhill, where Pope's Head Alley still exists. See June 20, 1662.

temper, which God grant. This night my new cam-lott riding coate to my coloured cloth suit came home. More news to-day of our losses at Brampton by the late storm.

7th. Early to White Hall to the chappell, where by Mr. Blaggrave's<sup>1</sup> means I got into his pew, and heard Dr. Creeton,<sup>2</sup> the great Scotchman, and chaplain in ordinary to the King, preach before the King, and Duke and Duchesse, upon the words of Micah:—"Roule yourselves in dust." He made a most learned sermon upon the words; but, in his application, the most comical man that ever I heard in my life. Just such a man as Hugh Peters; saying that it had been better for the poor Cavalier never to have come with the King into England again; for he that hath the impudence to deny obedience to the lawful magistrate, and to swear to the oath of allegiance, &c., was better treated now-a-days in Newgate, than a poor Royalist, that hath suffered all his life for the King, is at White Hall among his friends.

8th. By coach with both Sir Williams to Westminster; this being a great day there in the House to pass the business for chimney-money, which was

<sup>1</sup> See Dec. 9, 1660, *ante*; and Sept. 11, 1664, *post*.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Robert Creighton, originally of Trinity College, Oxford; but who afterwards, from 1627 to 1639, was Greek Professor and Public Orator at Cambridge. When Pepys heard him, Creighton was Dean of Wells. In 1670 he was consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells. He died in 1672. His son, of the same name, was Greek Professor of Cambridge from 1662 to 1666, and died in 1678. Sir J. Hawkins says that Dr. Creighton (the son) died at Wells in 1736, æt. 97. The father and son have been sometimes confounded.

done. In the Hall I met with Serjeant Pierce ; and he and I to drink a cup of ale at the Swan, and there he told me how my Lady Monk<sup>1</sup> hath disposed of all the places which Mr. Edwd. Montagu hoped to have had, as he was Master of the Horse to the Queene ; which I am afraid will undo him, because he depended much upon the profit of what he should make by these places. He told me, also, many more scurvy stories of him and his brother Ralph,<sup>2</sup> which troubles me to hear of persons of honour as they are. Sir W. Pen and I to the office, whither afterward came Sir G. Carteret ; and we sent for Sir Thos. Allen, one of the Aldermen of the City,<sup>3</sup> about the business of one Colonel Appesly, whom we had taken counterfeit-ing of bills with all our hands and the officers of the yards, so well counterfeited that I should never have mistrusted them. We staid about this business at the office till ten at night, and at last did send him with a constable to the Counter ; and did give warrants for the seizing of a complice of his, one Blinkin-sopp.

9th (Lord's day). Church in the morning : dined at home, then to Church again and heard Mr. Naylor, whom I knew formerly of Keye's College, make a most eloquent sermon. Thence to Sir W. Batten's to see how he did, then to walk an houre with Sir W.

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<sup>1</sup> She is called in the State Poems "the Monkey Duchess." The Duke was Master of the Horse to the King.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Duke of Montagu.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Sheriff of London, 1654. See April 12, 1661, *ante*.

Pen in the garden : then he in to supper with me at my house, and so to prayers and to bed.

10th. At the office doing business all the morning, in the afternoon met Sir W. Pen at the Treasury Office, and there paid off the Guift, where late at night. Home and to bed, to-morrow being washing day.

11th. At the office all the morning, and all the afternoon rumaging of papers in my chamber, and tearing some and sorting others till late at night.

12th. This morning we had news from Mr. Coventry, that Sir G. Downing<sup>1</sup> (like a perfidious rogue, though the action is good and of service to the King,<sup>2</sup> yet he cannot with a good conscience do it) hath taken Okey,<sup>3</sup> Corbet, and Barkestead at Delfe, in Holland, and sent them home in the Blackmore. Sir W. Pen, talking to me this afternoon of what a strange thing it is for Downing to do this, he told me of a speech he made to the Lords States of Holland, telling them to their faces that he observed that he was not received with the respect and observance now, that he was when he came from the traitor and rebell Cromwell :<sup>4</sup> by whom, I am sure, he hath

<sup>1</sup> According to Hume, Downing had once been Chaplain to Okey's regiment.

<sup>2</sup> ["And hail the treason though we hate the traitor."] On the 21st, Charles returned his formal thanks to the States for their assistance in the matter.

<sup>3</sup> John Okey, Miles Corbet, and John Barkstead, three of the regicides; executed April 19th following.

<sup>4</sup> The President Hénault mentions a similar speech made by Lockhart, in France. "Un Ecossois, nommé Lockart, ambassadeur d'Angleterre en

got all he hath in the world,—and they know it too.<sup>1</sup>

13th. All day, either at the office or at home, busy about business till late at night. Having lately followed my business much, I find great pleasure in it, and a growing content.

14th. At the office all the morning. Home to dinner. In the afternoon came the German Dr. Kuffler, to discourse with us about his engine to blow up ships. We doubted not the matter of fact, it being tried in Cromwell's time, but the safety of carrying them in ships; but he do tell us, that when he comes to tell the King his secret (for none but the Kings, successively, and their heirs must know it), it will appear to be of no danger at all. We concluded nothing; but shall discourse with the Duke of York

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France, sous Cromwell, dont il avait épousé la nièce, et qui le fut aussi depuis, sous Charles II., disoit qu'il n'étoit pas considéré en France, en qualité d'ambassadeur du roi, comme il l'avoit été du tems de Cromwel; cela devoit être parcequ'il y avoit bien de la différence entre celui qui obligea la France à prendre Dunkerque pour la lui remettre, et celui qui revendit cette place à la France quand il fut remonté sur le trône." Hénault's pithy remark expresses the truth. Nothing shows the degradation of Charles in a more striking light than this coincidence of opinion in two ambassadors. One might almost suppose, if the thing were possible, that Hénault had seen Pepys's "Diary." The first edition of Hénault does not contain this passage.

<sup>1</sup> Charles, when residing at Brussels, went to the Hague at night to pay a secret visit to his sister, the Princess of Orange. After his arrival, "an old reverend-like man, with a long grey beard and ordinary grey clothes," entered the inn and begged for a private interview. He then fell on his knees, and pulling off his disguise, discovered himself to be Mr. Downing, then ambassador from Cromwell to the States-General. He informed Charles that the Dutch had guaranteed to the English Commonwealth to deliver him into their hands should he ever set foot in their territory. This warning probably saved Charles's liberty. (M. B.)

to-morrow about it. I found that Sarah the mayde had been very ill all day, and my wife fears that she will have an ague, which I am much troubled for. Thence to my lute, upon which I have not played a week or two, and trying over the two songs of "Nulla, nulla," &c., and "Gaze not on Swans," which Mr. Birkenshaw set for me a little while ago, I find them most incomparable songs as he has set them, of which I am not a little proud, because I am sure none in the world has them but myself, not so much as he himself that set them. So to bed.

15th. With Sir G. Carteret and both the Sir Williams at Whitehall to wait on the Duke in his chamber, which we did about getting money for the Navy and other things. So back again to the office all the morning. Thence to the Exchange to hire a ship for the Maderas, but could get none. Troubled at my mayde's being ill.

16th (Lord's day). This morning, till churches were done, I spent going from one church to another and hearing a bit here and a bit there. So to the Wardrobe to dinner with the young Ladies, and so walked to White Hall; and an houre or two in the Parke, which is now very pleasant. Here the King and Duke came to see their fowle play. The Duke took very civil notice of me. So walked home, calling at Tom's, giving him my resolution about my boy's livery. Here I spent an houre walking in the garden with Sir W. Pen, and then my wife and I thither to supper, where his son William is at home

not well. But all things, I fear, do not go well with them ; they look discontentedly, but I know not what ails them.

17th. Last night the Blackmore pinke brought the three prisoners, Barkestead, Okey, and Corbet, to the Tower, being taken at Delfe in Holland ; where, the Captain tells me, the Dutch were a good while before they could be persuaded to let them go, they being taken prisoners in their land. But Sir G. Downing would not be answered so : though all the world takes notice of him for a most ungrateful villaine for his pains.

18th. All the morning at the office with Sir W. Pen. After dinner to the office again, where Sir G. Carteret and we staid awhile, and then Sir W. Pen and I on board some of the ships now fitting for East Indys and Portugall, to see in what forwardness they are. That which troubles me is that my Father has now got an ague that I fear may endanger his life.

19th. All the morning and afternoon at my office. This noon came a letter from T. Pepys, the turner, in answer to one of mine the other day to him, wherein I did cheque him for not coming to me, as he had promised, with his and his father's resolution about the difference between us. But he writes to me in the very same slighting terms that I did to him, without the least respect at all, but word for word as I did him, which argues a high and noble spirit in him, though it troubles me a little that he should make no more of my anger, yet I cannot blame him for doing

so, he being the elder brother's son, and not depending upon me at all.<sup>1</sup>

20th. At my office all the morning, at noon to the Exchange, and so home to dinner, and then all the afternoon at the office till late at night, and so home and to bed, my mind in good ease when I mind business, which methinks should be a good argument to me never to do otherwise.

21st. I went to see Sarah and my Lord's lodgings, which are now all in dirt, to be repaired against my Lord's coming from sea with the Queene. Thence to Westminster Hall; and there walked up and down and heard the great difference that hath been between my Lord Chancellor and my Lord of Bristol, about a proviso that my Lord Chancellor would have brought into the Bill for Conformity, that it shall be in the power of the King, when he sees fit, to dispense with the Act of Conformity; and though it be carried in the House of Lords, yet it is believed it will hardly pass in the Commons.<sup>2</sup>

22nd. At the office all the morning. At noon Sir Williams both and I by water down to the Lewes, Captain Dekins, his ship, a merchantman, where we met the owners, Sir John Lewes<sup>3</sup> and Alderman Lewes, and several other great merchants; among others one Jefferys, a merry man, and he and I called

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<sup>1</sup> This elucidates in some degree the Pepys pedigree.

<sup>2</sup> It passed the House of Lords on the 9th April.

<sup>3</sup> He had been knighted at the Hague, and afterwards was created a baronet.



brothers, and he made all the mirth in the company. We had a very fine dinner, and all our wives' healths, with seven or nine guns apiece ; and exceeding merry we were, and so home by barge again.

23rd (Lord's day). This morning was brought me my boye's fine livery, which is very handsome, and I do think to keep to black and gold lace upon gray, being the colour of my arms, for ever. To White Hall, and there met with Captn. Isham, this day come from Lisbone, with letters from the Queene to the King. And he did give me letters which speak that our fleet is all at Lisbone ; and that the Queene do not intend to embarque sooner than to-morrow come fortnight.

24th. Early Sir G. Carteret, both Sir Williams and I on board the Experiment, to dispatch her away, she being to carry things to the Maderas with the East Indy fleet. Having put things in good order I home. By and by comes La Belle Pierce<sup>1</sup> to see my wife, and to bring her a pair of peruques of hair, as the fashion now is for ladies to wear ; which are pretty, and are of my wife's own hair, or else I should not endure them. After a good whiles stay, I went to see if any play was acted, and I found none upon the post, it being Passion week. So home again, and took water with them towards Westininster ; but as we put off with the boat Griffin came after me to tell me that Sir G. Carteret and the rest were at the office, so

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<sup>1</sup> Wife of Surgeon Pierce.

I intended to see them through the bridge and come back again, but the tide being against us, when we were almost through we were carried back again with much danger, and Mrs. Pierce was much afraid and frightened. So I carried them to the other side and walked to the Beare, and sent them away, and so back again myself to the office, and then went to Westminster Hall, and there bought Mr. Grant's book of observations upon the weekly bills of mortality,<sup>1</sup> which appear to me upon first sight to be very pretty.

26th. Up early. This being, by God's great blessing, the fourth solemn day of my cutting for the stone this day four years, and am by God's mercy in very good health, and like to do well, the Lord's name be praised for it. At noon come my good guests, Madame Turner, The., and Cozen Norton, and a gentleman, one Mr. Lewin of the King's Life-Guard; by the same token he told us of one of his fellows killed this morning in a duel. I had a pretty dinner for them, viz., a brace of stewed carps, six roasted chickens, and a jowle of salmon, hot, for the first course; a tanzy<sup>2</sup> and two neats' tongues, and cheese the second; and were very merry all the after-

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<sup>1</sup> Burnet remarks, "Own Time," vol. i., p. 401, edit. 1823, that "Sir William Petty published his Observations on the Bills of Mortality, in the name of one Grant, a papist." This is confirmed by Evelyn, "Diary," March 22, 1675.

<sup>2</sup> Tansy (*tanacetum*), a herb from which puddings were made. Hence any pudding of the kind. Selden ("Table Talk") says: "Our tansies at Easter have reference to the bitter herbs." See in Wordsworth's "University Life in the Eighteenth Century" recipes for "an apple tansey," "a bean tansey," and "a gooseberry tansey." (M. B.)

noon, talking and singing and piping upon the flageolet. We had a man-cook to dress dinner to-day, and sent for Jane to help us, and my wife and she agreed at 3*l*. a year (she would not serve under) till both could be better provided, and so she stays with us.

27th. Early Sir G. Carteret, both Sir Williams and I by coach to Deptford, taking a codd and some prawns in Fish Street with us. We settled to pay the Guernsey, a small ship, but come to a great deal of money, it having been unpaid ever since before the King came in, by which means not only the King pays wages while the ship has lain still, but the poor men have most of them been forced to borrow all the money due for their wages before they receive it, and that at a dear rate, God knows, so that many of them had very little to receive at the table, which grieved me to see it. To dinner, very merry.

28th (Good Friday). At home all the morning. At my office all the afternoon.

29th. To my Lady, and staid two hours talking with her about her family business with great content and confidence in me. Home, where my people are getting the house clean against to-morrow.

30th (Easter day). Having my old black suit new furbished, I was pretty neat in clothes to-day, and my boy, his old suit new trimmed, very handsome. To church in the morning, and so home, leaving the two Sir Williams to take the Sacrament, which I blame myself that I have hitherto neglected all my life, but

once or twice at Cambridge.' Dined with my wife, a good shoulder of veal well dressed by Jane, which pleased us much. My wife and I to church in the afternoon, and seated ourselves, she below me, and by that means the precedence of the pew, which my Lady Batten and her daughter takes, is confounded; and after sermon she and I did stay behind them in the pew, and went out by ourselves a good while after them, which we judge a very fine project hereafter to avoyd contention. So my wife and I to walk an houre or two on the leads, which begins to be very pleasant, the garden being in good condition. So to supper, which is also well served in. We had a lobster to supper, with a crabb Pegg Pen sent my wife this afternoon, the reason of which we cannot think; but something there is of plot or design in it, for we have a little while carried ourselves pretty strange to them.

31st. This morning Mr. Coventry and all our company met at the office about some business of the victualling. I to my Lord Crew's to dinner, where used with much respect, and talking with him about my Lord's debts, and whether we should make use of an offer of Sir G. Carteret's to lend my Lady 4 or 500*l.*, he told me by no means, we must not oblige my Lord to him, and by the by he made a question whether it was not my Lord's interest a little to appear to the King in debt, and for people to clamor against him as well as others for their money, that by that

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<sup>1</sup> This is not in exact accordance with the certificate of Dr. Milles, in the *Memoirs of Pepys*, at the beginning of Vol. I.

means the King and the world may see that he do lay out for the King's honour upon his own main stock. Thence to Sir Thomas Crew's lodgings. He hath been ill, and continues so, under fits of apoplexy. Among other things, he and I did discourse much of Mr. Montagu's base doings, and the dishonour that he will do my Lord, as well as cheating him of 2 or 3,000*l.*, which is too true. Thence to the play, where coming late, and meeting with Sir W. Pen, who had got room for my wife and his daughter in the pit, he and I into one of the boxes, and there we sat and heard "The Little Thiefe,"<sup>1</sup> a pretty play and well done.

April 1st. At noon my wife and I to the Wardrobe and dined. Here was Mr. Harbord, son to Sir Charles Harbord, that lately came with letters from my Lord Sandwich to the King. He and I and the two young ladies and my wife to the playhouse, the opera, and saw "The Mayde in the Mill," a pretty good play; and that being done, in their coach I took them to Islington, and then, after a walk in the fields, I took them to the great cheese-cake house and entertained them, and so home; and after an houre's stay with my Lady, their coach carried us home, and so weary to bed.

2nd. Mr. Moore came to me, and he and I walked to the Spittle<sup>2</sup> an houre or two before my Lord Mayor and the blewe-coate boys come, which at last they did, and a fine sight of charity it is indeed. We got

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<sup>1</sup> By John Fletcher.

<sup>2</sup> Christ's Hospital, where the 'Spital Sermons are still preached annually, on Easter Monday and Tuesday.

places and staid to hear a sermon; but, it being a Presbyterian one, it was so long, that after above an houre of it we went away, and I home and dined; and then my wife and I by water to the opera, and there saw "The Bondman" most excellently acted; and though we had seen it so often, yet I never liked it better than to-day, Ianthe acting Clerora's part very well now Roxalana<sup>1</sup> is gone. We are resolved to see no more plays till Whitsuntide, we having been three days together. Met Mr. Sanchy, Smithes, Gale, and Edlin at the play, but having no great mind to spend money, I left them there.

4th. By barge Sir George, Sir Williams both and I to Deptford, and there fell to pay off the Drake and Hampshire, then to dinner. Then to pay the rest of the Hampshire and the Paradox, and were at it till 9 at night, and so by night home by barge safe. I was much troubled to-day to see a dead man lie floating upon the waters, and had done (they say) these four days, and nobody takes him up to bury him, which is very barbarous.

5th. At the office till almost noon, and then broke up. Then came Sir G. Cartaret, and he and I walked together alone in the garden, taking notice of some faults in the office, particularly of Sir W. Batten's, and he seemed to be much pleased with me, and I hope will be the ground of a future interest of mine in him, which I shall be glad of.

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<sup>1</sup> See 20th May, 1662, *post*.

6th (Lord's day). By water to White Hall, to Sir G. Carteret, to give him an account of the backwardnesse of the ships we have hired to Portugall: at which he is much troubled. Thence to the Chappell, and there, though crowded, heard a very honest sermon before the King by a Canon of Christ Church, upon these words, "Having a form of godlinesse, but denying," &c. Among other things, he did much insist upon the sin of adultery: which methought might touch the King, and the more because he forced it into his sermon, methinks, besides his text. So up and saw the King at dinner; and thence with Sir G. Carteret to his lodgings to dinner, with him and his lady. All their discourse, which was very much, was upon their sufferings and services for the King. Yet not without some trouble, to see that some that had been much bound to them, do now neglect them; and others again most civil that have received least from them: and I do believe that he hath been a good servant to the King. Thence to walk in the Parke, where the King and Duke did walk round the Park. After I was tired I went and took boat to Milford stairs, and so to Graye's Inn walks, the first time I have been there this year, and it is very pleasant and full of good company. When tired I walked to the Wardrobe, and there staid a little with my Lady, and so home and to bed.

7th. By water to Whitehall and thence to Westminster, and staid at the Parliament-doore long to speak with Mr. Coventry, which vexed me. Thence to the

Lords' House, and stood within the House, while the Bishops and Lords did stay till the Chancellor's coming, and then we were put out, and they to prayers. There comes a Bishop ; and while he was rigging himself, he bid his man listen at the door, whereabout in the prayers they were ; but the man told him something, but could not tell whereabouts it was in the prayers, nor the Bishop neither, but laughed at the conceit ; so went in : but, God forgive me ! I did tell it by and by to people, and did say that the man said that they were about something of saving their souls, but could not tell whereabouts in the prayers that was. I sent in a note to my Lord Privy Seale,<sup>1</sup> and he came out to me ; and I desired he would make another deputy for me, because of my great business of the Navy this month ; but he told me he could not do it without the King's consent, which vexed me. Thence by water and to Tom's, and there with my wife took coach and to the old Exchange, where having bought six large Holland bands, I sent her home, and myself to Mr. Rawlinson's to dinner, but was troubled in my head after the little wine I drank, and so home to my office, and there did promise to drink no more wine but one glass a meal till Whitsuntide next upon any score. The great talk is, that the Spaniards and the Hollanders do intend to set upon the Portuguese by sea, at Lisbon, as soon as our fleet is come away ; and by that means our fleet is not likely to come

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Say and Sele, who died seven days afterwards.



yet these two months or three ; which I hope is not true.

8th. Up very early and to my office, and there continued till noon. So to dinner, and in comes uncle Fenner and the two Joyces. I sent for a barrel of oysters and a breast of veal roasted, and were very merry ; but I cannot down with their dull company and impertinent. After dinner to the office again.

9th. Sir George Carteret, Sir Williams both and myself all the morning at the office passing the Vic-tualler's accounts, and at noon to dinner at the Dolphin, where a good chine of beefe and other good cheer. At dinner Sir George<sup>1</sup> showed me an account in French of the great famine, which is to the greatest extremity in some part of France at this day ; which is very strange.<sup>2</sup>

10th. Yesterday came Col. Talbot<sup>3</sup> with letters from Portugall, that the Queene is resolved to embarque for England this week. Thence to the office all the afternoon. My Lord Windsor<sup>4</sup> came to us to discourse of his affairs, and to take his leave of us ; he

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<sup>1</sup> Carteret.

<sup>2</sup> On the 5th of June following Louis, notwithstanding the scarcity, gave that splendid carousal in the court before the Tuileries, from which the place has ever since taken its name.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Talbot, who figures conspicuously in Grammont's "*Mémoires*." He married, first, Catherine Boynton, and secondly, Frances Jennings, eldest sister of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough. Talbot was created Earl of Tyrconnel by James II., and made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and elevated by him to the Dukedom of Tyrconnel after his abdication.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Baron Windsor, Lord Lieutenant of Worcestershire advanced to the Earldom of Plymouth, 1682. Ob. 1687.

being to go Governor of Jamaica with this fleet that is now going.

11th. Up early to my lute and song, then about six o'clock with Sir W. Pen by water to Deptford; and among the ships now going to Portugall with men and horse, to see them dispatched. So to Greenwich; and had a fine pleasant walk to Woolwich, having in our company Captn. Minnes, whom I was much pleased to hear talk. Among other things, he and the other Captains that were with us tell me that negros drowned look white and lose their blackness, which I never heard before.<sup>1</sup> At Woolwich, up and down to do the same business; and so back to Greenwich by water. Sir William and I walked into the Parke, where the King hath planted trees and made steps in the hill up to the Castle, which is very magnificent. So up and down the house, which is now repaying in the Queen's lodgings. So to dinner at the Globe, and were merry, and so home, and I in the evening to the Exchange, and so home and walked with my wife on the leads late, and so the barber came to me, and so to bed very weary which I seldom am.

12th. At the office all the morning, where, among

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<sup>1</sup> In the Ethiopian, the black colour does not reside in the cutis, or true skin, but in a texture superficial to and between it and the cuticle. This texture, the *rete mucosum*, in which the dark pigment is situate, may be readily dissected off, along with the cuticle, from the true skin, which is then exposed, and is of a *whitish* colour. When the body of a negro has long been immersed in water, such a dissection is, as it were, performed by the putrefactive process; and the surface of the body being thus deprived of its two outer investments, does really look *white*. — Ex inform. Alexander Melville M'Whinnick, F.R.C.P.

other things, being provoked by some impertinence of Sir W. Batten's, I called him unreasonable man, at which he was very angry and so was I, but I think we shall not much fall out about it. After dinner wrote letters at my office, and one to Mr. Coventry about business, and at the close did excuse my not waiting on him myself so often as others do for want of leisure.

13th (Lord's day). In the morning to Paul's, where I heard a pretty good sermon, and thence to dinner with my Lady at the Wardrobe; and after much talk with her after dinner, I went to the Temple to Church, and there heard another: by the same token a boy, being asleep, fell down a high seat to the ground, ready to break his neck, but got no hurt. Thence to Graye's Inn walkes; and there met Mr. Pickering. His discourse most about the pride of the Duchesse of York; and how all the ladies envy my Lady Castlemaine. He intends to go to Portsmouth to meet the Queene this week; which is now the discourse and expectation of the towne. So home, and no sooner come but Sir W. Warren comes to me to bring me a paper of Field's (with whom we have lately had a great deale of trouble at the office), being a bitter petition to the King against our office for not doing justice upon his complaint to us of embezzlement of the King's stores by one Turpin. I took Sir William to Sir W. Pen's (who was newly come from Walthamstowe), and there we read it and discoursed, but we do not much fear it, the King referring it to

the Duke of York. So we drank a glass or two of wine, and so home.

14th. Being weary last night I lay very long in bed to-day, talking with my wife, and persuaded her to go to Brampton, and take Sarah with her, next week, to cure her ague by change of ayre, and we agreed all things therein. We rose, and at noon dined, and then we to the Paynter's, and there sat the last time for my little picture, which I hope will please me. Then to Paternoster Rowe to buy things for my wife against her going. So home and walked upon the leads with my wife, and whether she suspected anything or no I know not, but she is quite off of her going to Brampton, which something troubles me, and yet all my design was that I might the freer go to Portsmouth when the rest go to pay off the yards there, which will be very shortly. But I will get off if I can.

15th. With my wife, by coach, to the New Exchange,<sup>1</sup> to buy her some things; where we saw some new-fashion pettycoats of sarcenett, with a black broad lace printed round the bottom and before, very handsome, and my wife had a mind to one of them, but we did not then buy one.

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<sup>1</sup> "To the north of Durham Place," says Pennant, "stood the *New Exchange*, which was built under the auspices of our monarch in 1608, out of the rubbish of the old stables of Durham House. It was built somewhat on the model of the Royal Exchange, with cellars beneath, a walk above, and rows of shops over that, filled chiefly with milliners, sempstresses, and the like. This was a fashionable place of resort."

"He has a lodging in the Strand . . . to watch when ladies are gone to the china houses, or to the *Exchange*, that he may meet them by chance and

17th. To Mr. Holliard's in the morning, thinking to be let blood, but he was gone out. So to White Hall, thinking to have had a Seale at Privy Seale, but my Lord did not come. Sir W. Batten in the evening sent for me to tell me that he had this day spoke to the Duke about raising our houses, and he hath given us leave to do it, at which, being glad, I went home merry.

18th. This morning sending the boy down into the cellar for some beer I followed him with a cane, and did there beat him for his staying of arrands and other faults, and his sister came to me down and begged for him. So I forebore, and afterwards, in my wife's chamber, did there talk to Jane how much I did love the boy for her sake, and how much it do concern to correct the boy for his faults, or else he would be undone. So at last she was well pleased. This morning Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. Batten and I met at the office, and did conclude of our going to Portsmouth next week, in which my mind is at a great loss what to do with my wife, for I cannot persuade her to go to Brampton, and I am loth to leave her at home.

19th. This morning, before we sat, I went to Aldgate; and at the corner shop,<sup>1</sup> a draper's, I stood, and did see Barkestead, Okey, and Corbet, drawne towards the gallows at Tiburne; and there they were hanged and quartered. They all looked very cheerful; but I hear they all die defending what they did

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give them presents, some two or three hundred pounds worth of toys, to be laughed at." — BEN JONSON, *The Silent Woman*, act i. sc. 1. (M. B.)

<sup>1</sup> Now actually Moses and Son's.

to the King to be just; which is very strange. In the evening did get a bever, an old one, but a very good one, of Sir W. Batten, for which I must give him something; but I am very well pleased with it.

20th (Lord's day). My intention being to go this morning to White Hall to hear South,<sup>1</sup> my Lord Chancellor's chaplain, the famous preacher and oratour of Oxford, (who the last Lord's day did sink down in the pulpit before the King, and could not proceed,) it did rain, and the wind against me, that I could by no means get a boat or coach to carry me; and so I staid at Paul's, where the Judges did all meet, and heard a sermon, it being the first Sunday of the terme; but they had a very poor sermon. So to my Lady's and dined, and so to White Hall to Sir G. Carteret, and so to the Chappell, where I challenged my pew as Clerke of the Privy Seale and had it, and then walked home with Mr. Blagrove to his old house in the Fishyard, and there he had a pretty kinswoman that sings, and we did sing some holy things, and afterwards others came in and so I left them, and by water through the bridge (which did trouble me) home, and so to bed.

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<sup>1</sup> This was the learned Robert South, then public orator at Oxford, and afterwards D.D., and prebendary of Westminster, and canon of Christchurch. The story, as copied from a contemporary tract, called "*Annus Mirabilis Secundus*," is given with full details in Wood's "*Athenæ*," and Kennett's "*Register*." It is by no means devoid of interest; but, having been so often printed, need not be here repeated. We may observe, however, that South had experienced a similar qualm whilst preaching at Oxford a few months before; but these seizures produced no bad consequences, as he lived to be eighty-three.

21st. This morning I attempted to persuade my wife to go to Brampton this week, but she would not, and seeing that I could keep it no longer from her, I told her that I was resolved to go to Portsmouth to-morrow. At noon dined with my Lord Crew; and after dinner went up to Sir Thos. Crew's chamber, who is still ill. He tells me how my Lady Duchesse of Richmond<sup>1</sup> and Castlemaine had a falling out the other day; and she calls the latter Jane Shore, and did hope to see her come to the same end that she did. Coming down again to my Lord, he told me that news was come that the Queene is landed; at which I took leave, and by coach hurried to White Hall, the bells ringing in several places; but I found there no such matter, nor anything like it. Home, and there I found my Lady Jemimah, and Anne, and Mademoiselle come to see my wife, whom I left, and to talk with Joyce about a project I have of his and my joyning, to get some money for my brother Tom and his kinswoman to help forward with her portion if they should marry. I mean in buying of tallow of him at a low rate for the King, and Tom should have the profit; but he tells me the profit will be considerable, at which I was troubled, but I have agreed with him to serve some in my absence.

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<sup>1</sup> Mary, daughter to George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, wife of James, fourth Duke of Lennox, and third Duke of Richmond, who left her a widow secondly in 1655. She had previously married Charles Lord Herbert; and she took for her third husband, Thomas Howard, brother of the Earl of Carlisle, who fought the duel with Jermyn. See August 19, *post*.



22nd. After taking leave of my wife, which we could hardly do kindly, because of her mind to go along with me, Sir W. Pen and I took coach and so over the bridge to Lambeth, W. Bodham and Tom Hewet going as clerkes to Sir W. Pen, and my Will for me. Here we got a dish of buttered eggs, and there staid till Sir G. Carteret came to us from White Hall, who brought Dr. Clerke with him, at which I was very glad, and so we set out, and I was very much pleased with his company, and were very merry all the way. We came to Gilford and there passed our time in the garden, cutting off sparagus for supper, the best that ever I eat in my life but in the house last year. Supped well, and the Doctor and I to bed together, calling cozens from his name and my office.<sup>1</sup>

23d. Up early, and to Petersfield, and there dined well; and thence got a countryman to guide us by Havant, to avoid going through the Forest; but he carried us much out of the way, and upon our coming we sent away an express to Sir W. Batten to stop his coming, which I did project to make good my oathe, that my wife should come if any of our wives came, which my Lady Batten did intend to do with her husband. The Doctor and I lay together at Wiard's, the chyrurgeons, in Portsmouth, his wife a very pretty woman. We lay very well and merrily; in the morning, concluding him to be of the eldest

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<sup>1</sup> Clerk of the Acts.



blood and house of the Clerkes, because that all the fleas came to him and not to me.

24th. Up and to Sir G. Carteret's lodgings at Mrs. Stephens's, where we keep our table all the time we are here. Thence all of us to the Payhouse; but the books not being ready, we went to church to the lecture, where there was my Lord Ormond<sup>1</sup> and Manchester,<sup>2</sup> and much London company, though not so much as I expected. Here we had a very good sermon upon this text: "In love serving one another;" which pleased me very well. No news of the Queene at all. So to dinner; and then to the Pay all the afternoon. Then W. Pen and I walked to the King's Yard, and there lay at Mr. Tippetts's,<sup>3</sup> where exceeding well treated.

25th. All the morning at Portsmouth, at the Pay, and then to dinner, and again to the Pay; and at night got the Doctor to go lie with me, and much pleased with his company; but I was much troubled in my eyes, by reason of the healths I have this day been forced to drink.

26th. Sir George<sup>4</sup> and I, and his clerk Mr. Stephens, and Mr. Holt our guide, over to Gosport; and so rode to Southampton. In our way, besides my Lord Southampton's<sup>5</sup> parks and lands, which in one view

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<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Ormond, as Lord High Steward.

<sup>2</sup> As Lord Chamberlain.

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards knighted as Sir John Tippetts.

<sup>4</sup> Sir George Carteret, who was M. P. for Portsmouth and Vice-Chamberlain to the King.

<sup>5</sup> Tichfield House, erected by Sir Thomas Wriothesley, on the site of an

we could see 6000*l.* per annum, we observed a little church-yard, where the graves are accustomed to be all sowed with sage. At Southampton we went to the Mayor's and there dined, and had sturgeon of their own catching the last week, which do not happen in twenty years, and it was well ordered. They brought us also some caveare, which I attempted to order, but all to no purpose, for they had neither given it salt enough, nor are the seedes of the roe broke, but are all in berries. The towne is one most gallant street, and is walled round with stone, &c., and Bevis's picture upon one of the gates; many old walls of religious houses, and the keye, well worth seeing. After dinner to horse again, being in nothing troubled but the badness of my hat, which I borrowed to save my beaver.

27th (Sunday). Sir W. Pen got trimmed before me, and so took the coach to Portsmouth to wait on my Lord Steward to church, and sent the coach for me back again. So I rode to church, and met my Lord Chamberlaine upon the walls of the garrison, who owned and spoke to me. I followed him in the crowde of gallants through the Queene's lodgings to chappell; the rooms being all rarely furnished, and

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Abbey of Premonstratenses, granted to him with their estates, 29th Henry VIII. Upon the death of his descendant, Thomas, Earl of Southampton, and Lord Treasurer, without issue male, the house and manor were allotted to his eldest daughter Elizabeth, wife of Edmund, first Earl of Gainsborough; and their only son dying *s. p. m.*, the property devolved to his sister Elizabeth, married to Henry, Duke of Portland, whose grandson, the third Duke, alienated it to Mr. Delme.

escaped hardly being set on fire yesterday. At chapel we had a most excellent and eloquent sermon. By coach to the Yard, and then on board the *Swallow* in the dock hear our navy chaplain preach a sad sermon, full of nonsense and false Latin; but prayed for the Right Honourable the principall officers. Visited the Mayor, Mr. Timbrell, our anchor-smith, who showed us the present they have for the Queene; which is a salt-sellar of silver, the walls christall, with four eagles and four greyhounds standing up at the top to bear up a dish; which indeed is one of the neatest pieces of plate that ever I saw, and the case is very pretty also.<sup>1</sup> This evening came a merchantman in the harbour, which we hired at London to carry horses to Portugall; but Lord! what running there was to the seaside to hear what news, thinking it had come from the Queene.

28th. The Doctor and I begun philosophy discourse exceeding pleasant. He offers to bring me into the college of virtuosoes<sup>2</sup> and my Lord Brouncker's acquaintance, and show me some anatomy, which makes me very glad; and I shall endeavour it, when I come to London. Sir W. Pen much troubled upon letters came last night. Showed me one of Dr. Owen's<sup>3</sup> to his son,<sup>4</sup> whereby it appears his son is much perverted

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<sup>1</sup> A salt-cellar answering this description is preserved at the Tower.

<sup>2</sup> The Royal Society.

<sup>3</sup> John Owen, D.D., a learned Nonconformist divine, and a voluminous theological writer, made Dean of Christ Church in 1653, by the Parliament, and ejected in 1659-60. He died at Ealing in 1683.

<sup>4</sup> The celebrated Quaker.

in his opinion by him ; which I now perceive is one thing that hath put Sir William so long off the hooks.

29th. At the pay all the morning, and so to dinner ; and then to it again in the afternoon, and after our work was done, Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. Pen and I walked forth, and I spied Mrs. Pierce and another lady passing by. So I left them and went to the ladies, and walked with them up and down, and took them to Mrs. Stephens, and there gave them wine and sweetmeats, and were very merry ; and then comes the Doctor, and we carried them by coach to their lodging, which was very poor, but the best they could get, and such as made much mirth among us. So I appointed one to watch when the gates of the towne were ready to be shut, and to give us notice ; and so the Doctor and I staid with them playing and laughing, and at last were forced to bid good night for fear of being locked into the towne all night. So we walked to the yarde, designing how to prevent our going to London to-morrow, that we might be merry with these ladies, which I did. So to supper and merrily to bed.

30th. This morning Sir G. Carteret came down to the yarde, and there we mustered over all the men and determined of some regulations in the yarde, and then to dinner, all the officers of the yarde with us ; and after dinner walk to Portsmouth, there to pay off the Successe, which we did pretty early, and so I took leave of Sir W. Pen, he desiring to know whither I went, but I would not tell him. I went to the ladies,

and there took them and walked to the Mayor's to show them the present, and then to the Locke, where Mr. Tippetts made much of them, and thence back again, the Doctor being come to us to their lodgings, whither came our supper by my appointment, and we very merry, playing at cards and laughing very merry till 12 o'clock at night, and so having staid so long (which we had resolved to stay till they bade us be gone), which yet they did not do but by consent, we bade them good night, and so past the guards, and went to the Doctor's lodgings, and there lay with him, our discourse being much about the quality of the lady with Mrs. Pierce, she being somewhat old and handsome, and painted and fine, and had a very handsome mayde with her. This afternoon after dinner comes Mr. Stephenson, one of the burgesses of the towne, to tell me that the Mayor and burgesses did desire my acceptance of a burgess-ship, and were ready at the Mayor's to make me one. So I went, and there they were all ready, and did with much civility give me my oathe, and after the oathe, did by custom shake me all by the hand. So I took them to a taverne and made them drink, and paying the reckoning, went away. It cost me a piece in gold to the Town Clerke, and 10s. to the Bayliffes, and spent 6s.

May 1st. Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. Pen, and myself, with our clerks, set out this morning from Portsmouth very early, and got by noon to Petersfield; several officers of the Yarde accompanying us so far. Here we

dined and were merry. At dinner comes my Lord Carlingford<sup>1</sup> from London, going to Portsmouth: tells us that the Duchesse of York is brought to bed of a girle,<sup>2</sup> at which I find nobody pleased; and that Prince Rupert and the Duke of Buckingham are sworne of the Privy Councell. He himself made a dish with egges of the butter of the Sparagus, which is very fine meat, which I will practise hereafter. To horse again, and got to Gilford, where after supper I to bed, having this day been offended by Sir W. Pen's foolish talk, and I offending him with my answers. Among others he in discourse complaining of want of confidence, did ask me to lend him a grain or two, which I told him I thought he was better stored with than myself, before Sir George. So that I see I must keep a greater distance than I have done. To bed all alone, and my Will in the truckle bed.<sup>3</sup>

2nd. Early to coach again and to Kingston, where we baited a little and got early to London, and I found all well at home. I to Dr. Clerke's lady, and gave her her letter and token. She is a very fine woman, and

<sup>1</sup> Theobald second Viscount Taaffe, created Earl of Carlingford, co. Louth, 1661-2.

<sup>2</sup> Mary, afterwards Queen of England.

<sup>3</sup> According to the original Statutes of Corpus Christi Coll. Oxon, a Scholar slept in a *truckle bed* below each Fellow. Called also "a trindle bed." Compare Hall's description of an obsequious tutor:

"He lieth in a truckle bed  
While his young master lieth o'er his head."

*Satires*, ii. 6, 5.

The bed was drawn in the daytime under the high bed of the tutor. See Wordsworth's "University Life in the Eighteenth Century." (M. B.)

what with her person and the number of fine ladies that were with her, I was much out of countenance, and could hardly carry myself like a man among them ; but however, I staid till my courage was up again, and talked to them, and viewed her house, which is most pleasant, and so drank and good night.

3rd. Sir W. Pen and I by coach to St. James's, and there to the Duke's Chamber, who had been a-hunting this morning and is come back again. To dinner to my Lady Sandwich, and Sir Thomas Crew's children coming thither, I took them and all my Ladys to the Tower and showed them the lions<sup>1</sup> and all that was to be shown, Sir Thomas Crew's children being as pretty and the best behaved that ever I saw of their age. Thence, at the goldsmith's, took my picture in little, which is now done, home with me, and pleases me exceedingly and my wife.

4th. Mr. Holliard came to me and let me blood, about sixteen ounces, I being exceedingly full of blood and very good. I begun to be sick ; but lying upon my back I was presently well again, and did give him 5s. for his pains. After dinner, my arm tied up with a black ribbon, I walked with my wife to my brother Tom's ; our boy waiting on us with his sword,<sup>2</sup> which this day he begins to wear, to outdo Sir W. Pen's boy, who this day, and Sir W. Batten's too, begin to wear new livery ; but I do take mine to be the neatest of them all. I led my wife to Mrs. Turner's pew, and

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<sup>1</sup> Hence the phrases "to lionize," "to see the lions." (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> See 7th Dec. 1661, *ante*.

the church being full, it being to hear a Doctor who is to preach a probacon sermon, I went out to the Temple and there walked, and so when church was done my wife and I walked to Grayes Inne, to observe fashions of the ladies, because of my wife's making some clothes.

5th. My arme not being well, I staid within all the morning. My wife gone to buy some things for herself, and a gowne for me to dress myself in.

6th. This morning I got my seat set up on the leads, which pleases me well.

7th. Walked to Westminster ; where I understand the news that Mr. Montagu is this last night come to the King with news, that he left the Queene and fleete in the Bay of Biscay, coming this wayward ; and that he believes she is now at the Isle of Scilly. So at noon to my Lord Crew's and there dined, and after dinner Sir Thos. Crew and I talked together, and among other instances of the simple light discourse that sometimes is in the Parliament House, he told me how in the late business of Chymny money, when all occupiers were to pay, it was questioned whether women were under that name to pay, and somebody rose and said that they were not occupiers, but occupied. Thence to Paul's Church Yard ; where seeing my Ladys Sandwich and Carteret, and my wife (who this day made a visit the first time to my Lady Carteret<sup>1</sup>), come by coach, and going to Hide Parke, I

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<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth, who married her cousin, Sir George Carteret, was the daughter of Sir Philip Carteret.



was resolved to follow them; and so went to Mrs. Turner's: and thence found her out at the Theatre, where I saw the last act of the "Knight of the Burning Pestle,"<sup>1</sup> which pleased me not at all. And so after the play done, she and The. Turner and Mrs. Lucin<sup>2</sup> and I, in her coach to the Parke; and there found them out, and spoke to them; and observed many fine ladies, and staid till all were gone almost.

8th. At the office all the morning doing business alone, and returned home, and was overtaken by Sir G. Carteret in his coach. He told me that the Queene and the fleet were in Mount's Bay on Monday last; and that the Queene endures her sickness pretty well. He also told me how Sir John Lawson hath done some execution upon the Turkes in the Straight, of which I am glad, and told the news the first on the Exchange, and was much followed by merchants to tell it. Sir G. Carteret, among other discourse, tells me that it is Mr. Coventry that is to come to us as a Commissioner of the Navy; at which he is much vexed, and cries out upon Sir W. Pen, and threatens him highly. And looking upon his lodgings, which are now enlarging, he in passion cried, "*Guarda mi spada*;<sup>3</sup> for, by God, I may chance to keep him in Ireland, when he is there:" for Sir W. Pen is going thither with my Lord Lieutenant. But it is my design to keep much in with Sir George; and I think I have begun very well towards it.

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<sup>1</sup> A Comedy by Beaumont and Fletcher.

<sup>2</sup> Query, Lukyn.

<sup>3</sup> *Sic*, orig.

9th. Up and to my office, and so to dinner at home, and then to Westminster. Thence to Mr. de Cretz, and there saw some good pieces that he hath copyed of the King's pieces, some of Raphael and Michael Angelo ; and I have borrowed an Elizabeth of his copying to hang up in my house. Thence with Salisbury, who I met there, into Covent Garden to an alehouse, to see a picture that hangs there, which is offered for 20s., and I offered fourteen—but it is worth much more money—but did not buy it, I having no mind to break my oathe. Thence to see an Italian puppet play, that is within the rayles there, which is very pretty, the best that ever I saw, and great resort of gallants. So to the Temple and by water home, and so walk upon the leades, and in the dark there played upon my flageolette, and so to supper and to bed. The Duke of York went last night to Portsmouth ; so that I believe the Queene is near.

10th. At noon to the Wardrobe ; there dined. My Lady told me how my Lady Castlemaine do speak of going to lie in at Hampton Court ; which she and all our ladies are much troubled at, because of the King's being forced to show her countenance in the sight of the Queene when she comes. In the evening Sir G. Carteret and I did hire a ship for Tangier, and other things together ; and I find that he do single me out to join with me apart from the rest, which I am much glad of.

11th (Lord's day). To our church in the morning, where, our Minister being out of towne, a dull, flat

Presbiter preached. Dined at home, and my wife's brother with us, we having a good dish of stewed beefe of Jane's own dressing, which was well done, and a piece of sturgeon of a barrel sent me by Captain Cocke. In the afternoon to White Hall; and there walked an houre or two in the Parke, where I saw the King now out of mourning,<sup>1</sup> in a suit laced with gold and silver, which it was said was out of fashion. Thence to the Wardrobe; and there consulted with the ladies about our going to Hampton Court to-morrow.

12th. Mr. Townsend called us up by four o'clock; and by five the three ladies, my wife and I, and Mr. Townsend, his son and daughter, were got to the barge and set out. We walked from Mortlake to Richmond, and so to boat again. And from Teddington to Hampton Court Mr. Townsend and I walked again. And then met the ladies, and were showed the whole house by Mr. Marriott;<sup>2</sup> which is indeed nobly furnished, particularly the Queene's bed, given her by the States of Holland; a looking-glasse sent by the Queene-mother from France, hanging in the Queene's chamber, and many brave pictures. And so to barge again; and got home about eight at night very well. So my wife and I took leave of my Ladies, and home by a hackney-coach, the easiest that ever I met with.

14th. Dined at the Wardrobe; and after dinner, sat talking an hour or two alone with my Lady. She

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<sup>1</sup> For his aunt, the Queen of Bohemia.

<sup>2</sup> The Housekeeper.

is afeard that my Lady Castlemaine will keep still with the King, and I am afeard she will not, for I love her well. Thence to my brother's, and finding him in a lie about the lining of my new morning gowne, saying that it was the same with the outside, I was very angry with him and parted so. So home after an hour stay at Paul's Churchyard, and there came Mr. Morelock of Chatham, and brought me a stately cake, and I perceive he has done the same to the rest, of which I was glad ; so to bed.

15th. To Westminster ; and at the Privy Seale I saw Mr. Coventry's seal for his being Commissioner with us at which I know not yet whether to be glad or otherwise. At night, all the bells of the towne rung, and bonfires made for the joy of the Queene's arrival, who landed at Portsmouth last night.<sup>1</sup> But I do not see much thorough joy, but only an indifferent one, in the hearts of people, who are much discontented at the pride and luxury of the Court, and running in debt.

17th. To the Wardrobe to dinner, where dined Mrs. Sanderson,<sup>2</sup> the mother of the mayds, and after dinner my Lady and she and I on foot to Pater Noster Rowe to buy a petticoat against the Queene's coming for my Lady, of plain satin, and other things ; and being come back again, we there met Mr. Nathaniel Crew at the Wardrobe with a young gentleman, a

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<sup>1</sup> Rugge, in his "Diurnal," tells us that the Queen attired herself in the English fashion soon after he landed.

<sup>2</sup> See May 10, 1660, *ante*.

friend and fellow student of his, and of a good family, Mr. Knightly, and known to the Crews, of whom my Lady privately told me she hath some thoughts of a match for my Lady Jemimah. I like the person very well, and he hath 2,000*l.* per annum. Thence to the office, and thence I walked to my brother Tom's to see a velvet cloake, which I buy of Mr. Moore. It will cost me 8*l.* 10*s.*; he bought it for 6*l.* 10*s.*, but it is worth my money.

18th (Whitsunday). By water to White Hall, and there to chappell in my pew belonging to me as Clerke of the Privy Seale; and there I heard a most excellent sermon of Dr. Hacket,<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, upon these words: "He that drinketh this water shall never thirst." We had an excellent anthem, sung by Captain Cooke and another, and brave musique. And then the King came down and offered, and took the sacrament upon his knees; a sight very well worth seeing. Hence with Sir G. Carteret to his lodging to dinner with his Lady and one Mr. Brevin, a French Divine, we were very merry, and good discourse after dinner, and so to chappell again; and there had another good anthem of Captain Cooke's. Thence to the Councell-chamber; where the King and Councell sat till almost eleven o'clock at night, and I forced to walk up and down the gallerys till that time of night. They were reading all the bills over that are to pass to-morrow at the House,<sup>2</sup> before

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<sup>1</sup> John Hacket, elected Bishop of that see 1661. Ob. 1670.

<sup>2</sup> The ears accustomed to the official words of speeches from the throne at

the King's going out of towne and proroguing the House. At last the Councell risen, and Sir G. Cartret telling me what the Councell hath ordered about the ships designed to carry horse from Ireland to Portugall, which is now altered. I got a coach and so home, sending the boat away without me. At home I found my wife discontented at my being abroad, but I pleased her. She was in her new suit of black sarcenet and yellow petticoate very pretty. So to bed.

19th. Long in bed, sometimes scolding with my wife, and then pleased again, and at last up, and put on my riding cloth suit, and a camelott coat new, which pleases me well enough. To the Temple, so home, the shops being but some shut and some open. I hear that the House of Commons do think much that they should be forced to huddle over business this morning against the afternoon, for the King to

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the present day, the familiar tone of the following extracts from Charles's speech to the Commons, on the 1st of March, will be amusing: — "I will conclude with putting you in mind of the season of the year, and the convenience of your being in the country, in many respects for the good and welfare of it; for you will find much tares have been sowed there in your absence. The arrival of my wife, who I expect some time this month, and the necessity of my own being out of town to meet her, and to stay some time before she comes hither, makes it very necessary that the Parliament be adjourned before Easter, to meet again in the winter. . . . The mention of my wife's arrival puts me in mind to desire you to put that compliment upon her, that her entrance into the town may be with more decency than the ways will now suffer it to be; and, to that purpose, I pray you would quickly pass such laws as are before you, in order to the amending those ways, and that she may not find Whitehall surrounded with water." Such a bill passed the Commons on the 24th June. — From CHARLES'S *Speech*, 1st March, 1662.

pass their Acts, that he may go out of towne. But he, I hear since, was forced to stay till almost nine o'clock at night before he could have done, and then he prorogued them; and so to Gilford, and lay there. Home, and Mr. Hunt dined with me, and were merry. After dinner Sir W. Pen and his daughter, and I and my wife by coach to the theatre, and there in a box saw "The Little Thiefe" well done. Thence to Moorefields, and walked and eat some cheesecake and gammon of bacon, but when I was come home I was sick. So my wife walking and singing upon the leads till very late, it being pleasant and moonshine, and so to bed.

20th. Sir W. Pen and I did a little business at the office, and so, home again. Then comes Dean Fuller;<sup>1</sup> and I am most pleased with his company and goodness. At last parted, and my wife and I by coach to the opera, and there saw the 2nd part of "The Siege of Rhodes," but it is not so well done as when Roxalana was there, who, it is said, is now owned by my Lord of Oxford.<sup>2</sup> Thence to Tower-wharfe, and there took boat, and we all walked to Halfeway House, and there eat and drank, and were pleasant, and so finally home again in the evening, and so good night, this being a very pleasant life that we now lead, and have long done; the Lord be blessed, and make us thankful. But, though I am much against too much

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<sup>1</sup> Dean of St. Patrick's.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of her pretended marriage with the Earl of Oxford, see Grammont, "Memoirs." (M. B.)

spending, yet I do think it best to enjoy some degree of pleasure now that we have health, money, and opportunity, rather than to leave pleasures to old age or poverty, when we cannot have them so properly.

21st. My wife and I to my Lord's lodgings, where she and I staid walking in White Hall garden. And in the Privy-garden saw the finest smocks and linnen petticoats of my Lady Castlemaine's, laced with rich lace at the bottom, that ever I saw ; and did me good to look upon them. So to Wilkinson's, she and I and Sarah, where I had a good quarter of lamb and a salat. Here Sarah<sup>1</sup> told me how the King dined at my Lady Castlemaine's, and supped, every day and night the last week ; and that the night that the bonfires were made for joy of the Queene's arrivall, the King was there ; but there was no fire at her door, though at all the rest of the doors almost in the street ; which was much observed : and that the King and she did send for a pair of scales and weighed one another ; and she, being with child,<sup>2</sup> was said to be heaviest. But she is now a most disconsolate creature, and comes not out of doors, since the King's going. But we went to the theatre to "The French Dancing Master,"<sup>3</sup> and there with much pleasure gazed upon her (Lady Castlemaine) ; but it troubles us to see her look deject-

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Sandwich's housekeeper.

<sup>2</sup> The Duke of Southampton, Lady Castlemaine's son by the King, was born in May, 1662.

<sup>3</sup> "The French Dancing Master," acted by Killigrew's company, 11th March, 1661-2. See Sir Henry Herbert's Register of Plays performed at the Restoration, in Malone's "Shakespeare," by Boswell, vol. iii. p. 275.



edly and slighted by people already. The play pleased us very well ; but Lacy's <sup>1</sup> part, the Dancing Master, the best in the world.

22d. This morning comes an order from the Secretary of State, Nicholas, for me to let one Mr. Lee, a Councillor, view what papers I have relating to passages of the late times, wherein Sir H. Vane's hand is employed, in order to the drawing up his charge ; which I did. At noon he, with Sir W. Pen and his daughter, dined with me, and he to his work again, and we by coach to the theatre and saw "Love in a Maze."<sup>2</sup> The play hath little in it but Lacy's part of a country fellow, which he did to admiration. So home, and supped with Sir W. Pen. This night we had each of us a letter from Captain Teddiman from the Streights, of a peace made upon good terms, by Sir J. Lawson, with the Argier men,<sup>3</sup> which is most excellent news. He hath also sent each of us some anchovies, olives, and muscatt ; but I know not yet what that is, and am ashamed to ask. After supper home, and to bed, resolving to make up this week in

<sup>1</sup> No wonder that Lacy performed his part so well, as he had been brought up a dancing-master. He afterwards procured a Lieutenant's commission in the army, which he soon quitted for the stage, and was the author of four plays. Ob. 1681, and buried in the churchyard of St. Martin-in-the-Fields.

<sup>2</sup> "Love in a Maze" is the second title of Shirley's play of "The Changes."

<sup>3</sup> The articles of peace between Charles II. and Algiers, concluded 30th August, 1664, by Admiral Thomas Allen, according to instructions from the Duke of York, being the same articles concluded by Sir John Lawson, 23rd April, 1662, and confirmed 10th November following. They are reprinted in Somers's "Tracts," vol. vi., p. 554, Sir W. Scott's edition.

seeing plays and pleasure, and so fall to business next week again for a great while.

23rd. At the office good part of the morning, and then about noon with my wife on foot to the Wardrobe. I staid below in the parler reading of the King's and Chancellor's late speeches at the proroguing of the Houses of Parliament. And while I was reading, news was brought me that my Lord Sandwich is come and gone up to my Lady, which put me into great suspense of joy, so I went up waiting my Lord's coming out of my Lady's chamber, which by and by he did, and looks very well, and my soul is glad to see him. He very merry, and hath left the King and Queene at Portsmouth, and is come up to stay here till next Wednesday, and then to meet the King and Queene at Hampton Court. So to dinner; and my Lord mighty merry; among other things, saying that the Queene is a very agreeable lady, and paints still. After dinner I showed him my letter from Teddiman about the news from Argier, which pleases him exceedingly; and he writ one to the Duke of York about it, and sent it express.<sup>1</sup> There coming much company after dinner to my Lord, my wife and I slunk away to the opera, where we saw "Witt in a Constable,"<sup>2</sup> the first time that it is acted;

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<sup>1</sup> "I came to the Wardrobe in London to my family, where I met a letter from Captain Teddiman to Mr. Samuel Pepys, showing the news of Sir John Lawson's having made peace with Algiers, they agreeing not to search our ships." — LORD SANDWICH'S *Journal*, 23rd May.

<sup>2</sup> A Comedy, by Henry Glapthorne.

but so silly a play I never saw I think in my life. After it was done, my wife and I to the puppet play in Covent Garden, which I saw the other day, and indeed it is very pleasant. Here among the fiddlers I first saw a dulcimore played on with sticks knocking of the strings, and is very pretty.<sup>1</sup>

24th. To the Wardrobe, and there again spoke with my Lord, and saw W. Howe, who is grown a very pretty and is a sober fellow. Thence abroad with Mr. Creed, of whom I informed myself of all I had a mind to know. Among other things, the great difficulty my Lord hath been in all this summer for lack of good and full orders from the King; and I doubt our Lords of the Councell do not mind things as the late powers did, but their pleasures or profit more. That the Juego de Toros<sup>2</sup> is a simple sport, yet the greatest in Spaine. That the Queene hath given no rewards to any of the captains or officers, but only to my Lord Sandwich; and that was a bag of gold, which was no honourable present, of about 1,400*l.* sterling. How recluse the Queene hath ever been, and all the voyage never come upon the deck, nor put her head out of her cabin; but did love my Lord's musique, and would send for it down to the state-room, and she sit in her cabin within hearing of it. That my Lord was forced to have some clashing with the Council of Portugall about payment of

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<sup>1</sup> For a description of the different musical instruments mentioned by Pepys, see Burney's and Hawkins's "*Histories of Music.*"

<sup>2</sup> Juego de Toros. Bull-fights. See 7th Nov. 1661. (M. B.)

the portion, before he could get it; which was, besides Tangier and a free trade in the Indys, two millions of crownes, half now, and the other half in twelve months. But they have brought but little money; but the rest in sugars and other commoditys, and bills of exchange. That the King of Portugall is a very foole almost, and his mother do all, and he is a very poor Prince. After a morning draft at the Star in Cheapside, I took him to the Exchange, thence home, but my wife having dined, I took him to Fish Street, and there we had a couple of lobsters, and dined upon them, and much discourse.

25th (Lord's day). To trimming myself, which I have this week done every morning, with a pumice stone, which I learnt of Mr. Marsh, when I was last at Portsmouth; and I find it very easy, speedy, and cleanly, and shall continue the practice of it. To church, and heard a good sermon of Mr. Woodcocke's at our church; only in his latter prayer for a woman in childbed, he prayed that God would deliver her from the hereditary curse of childe-bearing, which seemed a pretty strange expression. Dined at home, and Mr. Creed with me. This day I had the first dish of pease I have had this year. After discourse he and I abroad, and walked up and down, and looked into many churches, among others Mr. Baxter's at Blackfryers. Then to the Wardrobe and out with Captn. Ferrers to Charing Cross; and there at the Triumph taverne he showed me some Portugall ladys, which are come to towne before the Queene. They

are not handsome, and their farthingales a strange dress. Many ladies and persons of quality come to see them. I find nothing in them that is pleasing; and I see they have learnt to kiss and look freely up and down already, and I do believe will soon forget the recluse practice of their own country. They complain much for lack of good water to drink. The King's guards and some City companies do walk up and downe the towne these five or six days; which makes me think, and they do say, there are some plots in laying. God keep us.

26th. Up by four o'clock in the morning, and fell to the preparing of some accounts for my Lord of Sandwich. By and by, by appointment comes Mr. Moore, and, by what appears to us at present, we found that my Lord is above 7,000*l.* in debt, and that he hath money coming into him that will clear all, and so we think him clear, but very little money in his purse. So to my Lord's, and after he was ready, we spent an hour with him, giving him an account thereof; and he having some 6,000*l.* in his hands, remaining of the King's, he is resolved to make use of that, and get off of it as well as he can, which I like well of, for else I fear he will scarce get beforehand again a great while. Thence home, and to the Trinity House; where the Brethren (who have been at Deptford choosing a new Maister; which is Sir J. Minnes, notwithstanding Sir W. Batten did contend highly for it: at which I am not a little pleased, because of his proud lady) about three o'clock came

hither, and so to dinner. I seated myself close by Mr. Prin, who, in discourse with me, fell upon what records he hath of the lust and wicked lives of the nuns heretofore in England, and showed me out of his pocket one wherein thirty nuns for their lust were ejected of their house, being not fit to live there, and by the Pope's command to be put, however, into other nunnerys. I could not stay to end dinner with them, but rose, and privately went out, and by water to my brother's, and thence to take my wife to the Redd Bull,<sup>1</sup> where we saw Dr. Faustus,<sup>2</sup> but so wretchedly and poorly done, that we were sick of it, and the worse because by a former resolution it is to be the last play we are to see till Michaelmas. Thence homewards by coach, through Moorefields, where we stood awhile, and saw the wrestling. At home, got my lute upon the leades, and there played, and so to bed.

27th. To my Lord this morning, and thence to my brother's, where I found my father, poor man, come, which I was glad to see. He tells me his alterations of the house and garden at Brampton, which please me well.

28th. Up and down in several places about business with Mr. Creed, home about noon, and by and by comes my father by appointment to dine with me, which we did very merrily, I desiring to make him as merry as I can, while the poor man is in towne.

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<sup>1</sup> In St. John's Street, Clerkenwell. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> "Dr. Faustus," a tragical history, by Christopher Marlowe.

After dinner comes my uncle Wight and sat awhile, and thence we three to the Mum House at Leaden-hall.

29th. At home all the morning. At noon to the Wardrobe, and dined with my Lady, and after dinner staid long talking with her; then homeward, and in Lumbard Streete was called out of a window by Alderman Backwell, where I went, and saluted his lady, a very pretty woman. Here was Mr. Creed, and it seems they have been under some disorder in feare of a fire at the next door, and had been removing their goods, but the fire was over before I came. Thence home, and with my wife and the two mayds, and the boy, took boat and to Foxhall,<sup>1</sup> where I had not been a great while. To the old Spring Garden, and there walked long, and the wenches gathered pinks. Here we staid, and seeing that we could not have anything to eate, but very dear, and with long stay, we went forth again without any notice taken of us, and so we might have done if we had had anything. Thence to the new one, where I never was

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<sup>1</sup> A manor in Surrey, properly Fulke's Hall, and so called from Fulke de Breaute, the celebrated mercenary follower of King John. Afterwards called Vauxhall or Foxhall. The gardens were formed about 1661, and originally the "New Spring Gardens," to distinguish them from the "Old Spring Garden" at Vauxhall, and the "Old Spring Gardens" at Charing Cross. See Evelyn's "Diary," 2nd July, 1661. Balthazar Monconys, who visited England early in the reign of Charles II., describes the gardens as then much frequented, and having grass, and sand walks, and squares of roses, beans, and asparagus, divided by gooseberry hedges. Sir Samuel Morland, in 1675, obtained a lease of the place. King Charles had made Morland his Master of Mechanics, and here he built a fine room, the inside all of looking-glass and fountains, very pleasant to behold. (M. B.)

before, which much exceeds the other; and nere we also walked, and the boy crept through the hedge and gathered abundance of roses, and, after a long walk, passed out of doors as we did in the other place, and here we had cakes and powdered beef<sup>1</sup> and ale, and so home again by water with much pleasure. This day, being the king's birth-day, was very solemnly observed; and the more, for that the Queene this day comes to Hampton Court. In the evening, bonfires were made, but nothing to the great number that was heretofore at the burning of the Rump.

30th. This morning I made up my accounts, and find myself de claro worth about 530*l.*, and no more, so little have I increased it since my last reckoning; but I confess I have laid out much money in clothes. Upon a suddaine motion I took my wife, and Sarah and Will by water, with some victuals with us, as low as Gravesend, intending to have gone into Hope to the Royal James, to have seen the ship and Mr. Shepley, but meeting Mr. Shepley in a hoy, bringing up my Lord's things, she and I went on board, and sailed up with them as far as half-way tree, very glad to see Mr. Shepley. Here we saw a little Turke and a negroe, which are intended for pages to the two young ladies. Many birds and other pretty noveltys there was, but I was afeard of being louzy, and so took boat again, and got to London before them, all the way, coming and going, reading in the "Wall-

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<sup>1</sup> Powdered beef, *i.e.*, salted beef. (M. B.)



flower" with great pleasure. So home, and thence to the Wardrobe, where Mr. Shepley was come with the things. Here I staid talking with my Lady, who is preparing to go to-morrow to Hampton Court. So home, and at ten o'clock at night Mr. Shepley came to sup with me. So we had a dish of mackerell and pease, and so he bid us good night, going to lie on board the hoy.

31st. Lay long in bed, and so up to make up my Journall for these two or three days past. Then came Anthony Joyce, who duns me for money for the tallow which he served in lately by my desire, which vexes me. By and by to White Hall, and so home, and had Sarah to comb my head clean, which I found so foul with powdering and other troubles, that I am resolved to try how I can keep my head dry without powder; and I did also in a suddaine fit cut off all my beard, which I had been a great while bringing up, only that I may with my pumice-stone do my whole face, as I now do my chin, and to save time, which I find a very easy way and gentile. So she also washed my feet in a bath of herbes, and so to bed. The Queene is brought a few days since to Hampton Court; and all people say of her to be a very fine and handsome lady, and very discreet; and that the King is pleased enough with her: which, I fear, will put Madam Castlemaine's nose out of joynt.

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<sup>1</sup> A very singular book by Dr. Thomas Bayly — "*Herba Parietis*;" or, the Wall-flower, as it grew out of the Stone Chamber belonging to Newgate. Lond. 1650. Folio.

The Court is wholly now at Hampton. A peace with Argier<sup>1</sup> is lately made ; which is also good news. My Lord Sandwich is lately come with the Queene from sea, very well and in good repute. The Act for Uniformity is lately printed, which, it is thought, will make mad work among the Presbyterian ministers. People of all sides are very much discontented ; some thinking themselves used, contrary to promise, too hardly ; and the other, that they are not rewarded so much as they expected by the King. God keep us all. I have by a late oathe obliged myself from wine and playes, of which I find good effect.

June 1st (Lord's day). At church in the morning. A stranger made a very good sermon. Dined at home, and Mr. Spong came to see me ; so he and I sat down a little to sing some French psalms. To church again, where a Presbyter made a sad and long sermon, which vexed me.

2nd. Up early about business and then to the Wardrobe, and spoke to my Lord about the exchange of the crusados<sup>2</sup> into sterling money, and other matters. This day my wife put on her slasht wastecoate, which is very pretty.

3rd. Up by four o'clock and to my business in my

<sup>1</sup> Algiers. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Crusado, a Portuguese coin. It is named from a cross which it bears on one side, the arms of Portugal being on the other. It varied in value at different periods from 2s. 3d. to 4s.

"Believe me, I had rather lost my purse  
Full of cruzados."

SHAKESPEARE, *Othello*, act iii. sc. 4. (M. B.)

chamber, to even accounts with my Lord and myself, and very fain I would become master of 1,000*l.*, but I have not above 530*l.* toward it yet. At the office all the morning, and Mr. Coventry brought his patent and took his place with us this morning. Upon our making a contract, I went, as I use to do, to draw the heads thereof, but Sir W. Pen most basely told me that the Comptroller is to do it, and so begun to employ Mr. Turner about it; at which I was much vexed, and begun to dispute; and what with the letter of the Duke's orders, and Mr. Barlow's letter, and the practice of our predecessors, which Sir G. Carteret knew best when he was Comptroller, it was ruled for me. What Sir J. Minnes will do when he comes I knowe not, but Sir W. Pen did it like a base raskall, and so I shall remember him while I live. After office done, I went down to the Towre Wharfe, where Mr. Creed and Shepley was ready with three chests of the crusados, being about 6,000*l.*, ready to bring to shore to my house, which they did, and put it in my further cellar, and Mr. Shepley took the key. I to my father and Dr. Williams and Tom Trice, by appointment, in the Old Bayly, to Short's, the ale-house, but could come to no terms with T. Trice. Thence to the Wardrobe, where I found my Lady come from Hampton Court, where the Queene hath used her very civilly; and my Lady tells me is a most pretty woman, at which I am glad. Yesterday (Sir R. Ford told me) the Aldermen of the City did attend her in their habits, and did present her with a

gold cupp and 1,000*l.* in gold therein. But, he told me, that they are so poor in their Chamber, that they were fain to call two or three Aldermen to raise fines to make up this sum, among which was Sir W. Warren. Home and to bed, my mind troubled about Sir W. Pen, his playing the rogue with me to-day, as also about the charge of money that is in my house, which I had forgot ; but I made the mayds to rise and light a candle, and set it in the dining-room, to scare away thieves, and so to sleep.

4th. Up early, and Mr. Moore comes to me and tells me that Mr. Barnwell is dead, which troubles me something, and the more for that I believe we shall lose Mr. Shepley's company. By and by Sir W. Batten and I by water to Woolwich ; and there saw an experiment made of Sir R. Ford's Holland's yarne (about which we have lately had so much stir ; and I have much concerned myself for our rope-maker, Mr. Hughes, who represented it as bad), and we found it to be very bad, and broke sooner than, upon a fair triall, five threads of that against four of Riga yarne ; and also that some of it had old stuffe that had been tarred, covered over with new hempe, which is such a cheat as hath not been heard of. I was glad of this discovery, because I would not have the King's workmen discouraged (as Sir W. Batten do most basely do) from representing the faults of merchants' goods, when there is any. To my Lord's, who I find resolved to buy Brampton Manor of Sir Peter Ball, at which I am glad. Thence to White Hall, and showed Sir G.

Carteret the cheat, and so to the Wardrobe, and there staid and supped with my Lady.

5th. To the office, where they were just sat down, and I showed them yesterday's discovery, and have got Sir R. Ford to be my enemy by it ; but I care not, for it is my duty, and so did get his bill stopped for the present. To dinner, and found Dr. Thos. Pepys at my house ; but I was called from dinner by a note from Mr. Moore to Alderman Backwell's, to see some thousands of my Lord's crusados weighed, and we find that 3,000 come to about 530*l*. or 40 generally. In the evening with Mr. Moore to Backwell's with another 1,200 crusados and saw them weighed, and so home and to bed.

6th. At my office all alone all the morning, and the smith being with me about other things, did open a chest that hath stood ever since I came to the office, in my office, and there we found a modell of a fine ship, which I long to know whether it be the King's or Mr. Turner's. At noon to the Wardrobe. Thence to my brother Tom's, where we found a letter from Pall that my mother is dangerously ill in fear of death, which troubles my father and me much, but I hope it is otherwise, the letter being four days old since it was writ.

7th. To the office, where all the morning, and I find Mr. Coventry is resolved to do much good, and to enquire into all the miscarriages of the office. At noon with him and Sir W. Batten to dinner at Trinity House ; where, among others, Sir J. Robinson, Lieu-

tenant of the Tower, was, who says that yesterday Sir H. Vane had a full hearing at the King's Bench, and is found guilty; and that he did never hear any man argue more simply than he in all his life, and so others say. Sent for to Sir G. Carteret's, and there talked with him a good while. I perceive, as he told me, were it not that Mr. Coventry had already feathered his nest in selling of places, he do like him very well, and hopes great good from him. But he complains so of lack of money, that my heart is very sad, under the apprehension of the fall of the office.

8th (Lord's day). To church, and there I found Mr. Mills come home out of the country again, and preached but a lazy sermon. Home and dined with my wife, and so to church again with her. Thence walked to my Lady's, and there supped with her, and merry, among other things, with the parrott which my Lord hath brought from the sea, which speaks very well, and cries Pall so pleasantly, that made my Lord give it my Lady Paulina; but my Lady, her mother, do not like it. Home, and observe my man Will to walk with his cloak flung over his shoulder, like a Ruffian, which, whether it was that he might not be seen to walk along with the footboy, I know not, but I was vexed at it; and coming home, and after prayers, I did ask him where he learned that immodest garbe, and he answered me that it was not immodest, or some such slight answer, at which I did give him two boxes on the eares, which I never did before, and so was after a little troubled at it.

9th. Early up and at the office with Mr. Hater, making my alphabet of contracts, upon the dispatch of which I am now very intent, for that I am resolved to enquire into the price of commodities. Dined at home, and after dinner to Greatorex's, and with him and another stranger to the Taverne, but I drank no wine. He recommended Bond, of our end of the towne, to teach me to measure timber, and some other things that I would learn, in order to my office.

10th. At the office all the morning, much business ; and great hopes of bringing things, by Mr. Coventry's means, to a good condition in the office. Dined at home, to the office again in the afternoon, but not meeting, as was intended, I went to my brother's and bookseller's, and other places about business, and paid off all for books to this day, and do not intend to buy any more of any kind a good while, though I had a great mind to have bought the King's works, as they are new printed in folio, and present it to my Lord ; but I think it will be best to save the money. So home and to bed.

11th. At the office all the morning, Sir W. Batten, Sir W. Pen, and I about the Victualler's accounts. Then home to dinner and to the office again all the afternoon, Mr. Hater and I writing over my Alphabet faire, in which I took great pleasure to rule the lines and to have the capitall words wrote with red ink. So home and to supper. This evening Savill the Paynter came and did varnish over my wife's picture and mine,

and I paid him for my little picture 3*l.*, and so am clear with him.

12th. This morning I tried on my riding cloth suit with close knees, the first that ever I had ; and I think they will be very convenient, if not too hot to wear any other open knees after them. At the office all the morning. Among many other businesses, I did get a vote signed by all, concerning my issuing of warrants, which they did not smell the use I intend to make of it ; but it is to plead for my clerks to have their right of giving out all warrants, at which I am not a little pleased. But great difference happened between Sir G. Carteret and Mr. Coventry, about passing the Victualler's account, and whether Sir George is to pay the Victualler his money, or the Exchequer ; Sir George claiming it to be his place to save his three-pences. It ended in anger, and I believe will come to be a question before the King and Council. I did what I could to keep myself unconcerned in it, having some things of my own to do before I would appear high in anything. Thence to dinner, by Mr. Gauden's invitation, to the Dolphin, where a good dinner ; but what is to myself a great wonder, that with ease I past the whole dinner without drinking a drop of wine. After dinner to the office, my head full of business, and so home, and it being the longest<sup>1</sup> day in the year, I made all my people go to bed by daylight. But after I was a-bed and asleep, a note came from

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<sup>1</sup> According to the "old style;" the "new style" did not begin till 1752. (M. B.)



my brother Tom to tell me that my cozen Anne Pepys, of Worcestershire, her husband is dead, and she married again, and her second husband<sup>1</sup> in town, and intends to come and see me to-morrow.

13th. Up by 4 o'clock in the morning, and read Cicero's Second Oration against Catiline, which pleased me exceedingly; and more I discern therein than ever I thought was to be found in him; but I perceive it was my ignorance, and that he is as good a writer as ever I read in my life. By and by to Sir G. Carteret's, to talk with him about yesterday's difference at the office; and offered my service to look into my old books or papers that I have, that may make for him. He was well pleased therewith, and did much inveigh against Mr. Coventry; telling me how he had done him service in the Parliament, when Prin had drawn up things against him for taking of money for places; that he did at his desire, and upon his letters, keep him off from doing it. And many other things he told me, as how the King was beholden to him, and in what a miserable condition his family would be, if he should die before he hath cleared his accounts. Upon the whole, I do find that he do much esteem of me, and is my friend. Thence to my Lady's, and there dined with her, and after dinner some musique, and so home to my business, and in the evening my wife and I, and Sarah and the boy, a most pleasant walk to Halfway house, and so home and to bed.

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Fisher. See 15th June. (M. B.)

14th. Up by four o'clock in the morning and upon business at my office. Then we sat down to business, and about 11 o'clock, having a room got ready for us, we all went out to the Tower-hill; and there, over against the scaffold, made on purpose this day, saw Sir Henry Vane<sup>1</sup> brought. A very great press of people. He made a long speech, many times interrupted by the Sheriffe and others there; and they would have taken his paper out of his hand, but he would not let it go. But they caused all the books of those that writ<sup>2</sup> after him to be given the Sheriffe; and the trumpets were brought under the scaffold that he might not be heard. Then he prayed, and so fitted himself, and received the blow; but the scaffold was so crowded that we could not see it done. But Boreman,<sup>3</sup> who had been upon the scaffold, came to us and told us, that first he began to speak of the irregular proceeding against him; that he was, against Magna Charta, denied to have his exceptions against the indictment allowed; and that there he was stopped by the Sheriffe. Then he drew out his paper of notes,

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry Vane was born 1612. Though he disapproved of the violence offered to the King's person, he accepted afterwards of a seat at the Council-board. At the Restoration, though both Houses voted for an act of indemnity in his favour, his conduct to Strafford, and the perseverance with which he had supported the republican cause, were not forgotten, and therefore he was arraigned and condemned on pretence of having compassed the late King's death. He is represented by Clarendon as a man of deep dissimulation, of quick conception, and great understanding, but Burnet speaks of him as a fearful man, whose head was darkened in his notions of religion. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.*, the reporters.

<sup>3</sup> Sir William Boreman, Clerk to the Board of Green Cloth.

and begun to tell them first his life ; that he was born a gentleman, that he was bred up and had the quality of a gentleman, and to make him in the opinion of the world more a gentleman, he had been, till he was seventeen years old, a good fellow, but then it pleased God to lay a foundation of grace in his heart, by which he was persuaded, against his worldly interest, to leave all preferment and go abroad, where he might serve God with more freedom. Then he was called home, and made a member of the Long Parliament ; where he never did, to this day, any thing against his conscience, but all for the glory of God. Here he would have given them an account of the proceedings of the Long Parliament, but they so often interrupted him, that at last he was forced to give over : and so fell into prayer for England in generall, then for the churches in England, and then for the City of London : and so fitted himself for the block, and received the blow. He had a blister, or issue, upon his neck, which he desired them not hurt : he changed not his colour or speech to the last, but died justifying himself and the cause he had stood for ; and spoke very confidently of his being presently at the right hand of Christ ; and in all things appeared the most resolved man that ever died in that manner, and showed more of heate than cowardize, but yet with all humility and gravity. One asked him why he did not pray for the King. He answered, “Nay,” says he, “you shall see I can pray for the King : I pray God bless him !” The King had given his body to his friends ; and,

therefore, he told them that he hoped they would be civil to his body when dead ; and desired they would let him die like a gentleman and a Christian, and not crowded and pressed as he was. So to the office a little, and so to the Trinity-house all of us to dinner ; and then to the office again all the afternoon till night. This day, I hear, my Lord Peterborough is come unexpected from Tangier, to give the King an account of the place, which, we fear, is in none of the best condition. We had also certain news to-day that the Spaniard is before Lisbone with thirteen sayle ; six Dutch, and the rest his own ships ; which will, I fear, be ill for Portugall. I writ a letter of all this day's proceedings to my Lord, at Hinchinbroke, who, I hear, is very well pleased with the work there.

15th (Lord's day). To church in the morning and home to dinner, where come my brother Tom and Mr. Fisher, my cozen, Nan Pepy's second husband, who, I perceive, is a very good-humoured man, an old cavalier, I made as much of him as I could, and were merry, and am glad she hath light of so good a man. They gone, to church again ; but my wife not being dressed as I would have her, I was angry, and she, when she was out of doors in her way to church, returned home again vexed. But I to church, Mr. Mills, an ordinary sermon. So home, and found my wife and Sarah gone to a neighbour church, at which I was not much displeased. By and by she comes again, and, after a word or two, good friends. So to walk upon the leades, and to supper, and to bed.

16th. Up before four o'clock, and after some business took Will forth, and he and I walked through St. Catharine's and Ratcliffe (I think it is) by the water-side above a mile before we could get a boat, and so over the water in a scull (which I have not done a great while), and walked finally to Deptford, where I saw in what forwardness the work is for Sir W. Batten's house and mine, and it is almost ready. I also, with Mr. Davis, did view my cozen Joyce's tallow, and compared it with the Irish tallow we bought lately, and found ours much more white, but as soft as it ; now what is the fault, or whether it be or no a fault, I know not. So walked home again as far as over against the Towre, and so over and home. Then by water with my wife to the Wardrobe, and dined there ; and in the afternoon with all the children by water to Greenwich, where I showed them the King's yacht, the house, and the parke, all very pleasant ; and so to the taverne, and had the musique of the house, and so merrily home again.

17th. To the office, and at Sir W. Batten's, where we all met by chance and talked, and they drank wine ; but I forebore all their healths. Sir John Minnes, I perceive, is most excellent company.

18th. Up early ; and after reading a little in Cicero, to my office. To my Lord Crew's and dined with him ; where I hear the courage of Sir H. Vane at his death is talked on every where as a miracle. I walked to Lilly's,<sup>1</sup> the painter's, where we saw among other

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Lely, the celebrated painter, afterwards knighted. Ob. 1680.

rare things, the Duchesse of York, her whole body, sitting in state in a chair, in white sattin, and another of the King, that is not finished; most rare things. I did give the fellow something that showed them us, and promised to come some other time, and he would show me Lady Castlemaine's, which I could not then see, it being locked up! Thence to Wright's,<sup>1</sup> the painter's: but, Lord! the difference that is between their two works. After some merry discourse in the kitchen with my wife and mayds as I now-a-days often do, I being well pleased with both my mayds, to bed.

19th. Up by five o'clock, and while my man Will was getting himself ready to come up to me I took and played upon my lute a little. We sat long to-day, and had a great private business before us about contracting with Sir W. Rider, Mr. Cutler, and Captain Cocke, for 500 ton of hempe, which we went through, and I am to draw up the conditions. Home to dinner, and then with the last chest of crusados to Alderman Backwell's, by the same token his lady going to take coach stood in the shop, and having a gilded glassfull of perfumed comfits given her by Don Duarte de Silva, the Portugall merchant, that is come over with the Queene, I did offer at a taste, and so she poured some out into my hand, and, though good, yet pleased me the better coming from a pretty lady. So home and at the office preparing papers and things, and indeed my head has not been so full of

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Wright, a native of Scotland, and portrait-painter of some note, settled in London.

business a great while, and with so much pleasure, for I begin to see the pleasure it gives. God give me health. So to bed.

20th. Up by four or five o'clock, and to the office, and there drew up the agreement between the King and Sir John Winter<sup>1</sup> about the Forrest of Deane; and having done it, he came himself (I did not know him to be the Queene's Secretary before, but observed him to be a man of fine parts); and we read it, and both liked it well. That done, I turned to the Forrest of Deane, in Speede's Mapps, and there he showed me how it lies; and the Lea-bayly,<sup>2</sup> with the great charge of carrying it to Lydny, and many other things worth my knowing; and I do perceive that I am very short in my business by not knowing many times the geographical part of my business.

I went to the Exchange, and I hear that the merchants have a great fear of a breach with the Spaniard; for they think he will not brook our having Tangier, Dunkirke, and Jamaica; and our merchants begin to draw home their estates as fast as they can. Then to Pope's Head Alley, and there bought me a pair of tweezers, cost me 14s., the first thing like a bawble I have bought a good while, but I do it with some trouble of mind, though my conscience tells me that I do it with an apprehension of service in my office to have a book to write memorandums in, and a pair of compasses in it; but I confess myself the willinger

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<sup>1</sup> Secretary and Chancellor to the Queen Dowager.

<sup>2</sup> A hamlet in the parish of Newland, Gloucestershire.

to do it because I perceive by my accounts that I shall be better by 30*l.* than I expected to be. In the evening, my wife and I and Jane over the water to the Halfway-house, a pretty, pleasant walk, but the wind high.

21st. Up about four o'clock, and to the office to prepare things for our meeting to-day. By and by we met and at noon, Sir W. Pen and I to the Trinity House; where was a feast made by the Wardens. Great good cheer, and much but ordinary company. The Lieutenant of the Tower, upon my demanding how Sir H. Vane died, told me that he died in a passion; but all confess with so much courage as never man died. So home, and there found Mr. Creed, who staid talking with my wife and me an hour or two, and I put on my riding cloth suit, only for him to see how it is, and I think it will do very well. He being gone, and I hearing from my wife and the mayds complaints made of the boy, I called him up, and with my whip did whip him till I was not able to stir, and yet I could not make him confess any of the lies that they tax him with. At last, not willing to let him go away a conqueror, I took him in task again, and pulled off his frock to his shirt, and whipped him till he did confess that he did drink the whey, which he had denied, and pulled a pinke, and above all did lay the candlesticke upon the ground in his chamber, which he had denied this quarter of a year. I confess it is one of the greatest wonders that ever I met with that such a little boy as he could



possibly be able to suffer half so much as he did to maintain a lie. I think I must be forced to put him away. So to bed, with my arm very weary.

22nd (Lord's day). This day I first put on my slasht doublet, which I like very well. To the Wardrobe. By and by my Lord came from church, and I dined, with some others, with him, he very merry, and after dinner took me aside and talked of state and other matters. So home. My wife and I to walk in the garden, where all our talk was against Sir W. Pen, against whom I have lately had cause to be much prejudiced. By and by he and his daughter came out to walke, so we took no notice of them a great while, at last in going home spoke a word or two, and so good night, and to bed. This day I am told of a Portugall lady, at Hampton Court, that hath dropped a child already since the Queene's coming, but the King would not have them searched whose it is ; and so it is not commonly known yet. Coming home to-night, I met with Will. Swan, who do talk as high for the Fanatiques as ever he did in his life ; and do pity my Lord Sandwich and me that we should be given up to the wickedness of the world ; and that a fall is coming upon us all ; for he finds that he and his company are the true spirit of the nation, and the greater part of the nation too, who will have liberty of conscience in spite of this "Act of Uniformity," or they will die ; and if they may not preach abroad, they will preach in their own houses. He told me that certainly Sir H. Vane must be gone to Heaven,

for he died as much a martyr and saint as ever man did ; and that the King hath lost more by that man's death, than he will get again a good while. At all which I know not what to think ; but, I confess, I do think that the Bishops will never be able to carry it so high as they do.

23rd. Up early this morning, and to my office, and there hard at work all the morning. Meeting with Frank Moore, my Lord Lambeth's man formerly, we, and two or three friends of his did go to a taverne, and there they drank, but I nothing but small beer. In the next room one was playing very finely of the dulcimer, which well played I like well, but one of our own company, a talking fellow, did in discourse say much of this Act against Seamen, for their being brought to account ; and that it was made on purpose for my Lord Sandwich, who was in debt 100,000*l.* and hath been forced to have pardon oftentimes from Oliver for the same : at which I was vexed at him, but thought it not worth my trouble to oppose what he said, but took leave and went home, and after a little dinner to my office again, and in the evening Sir W. Warren came to me about business, and that being done, discoursing of deales, I did offer to go along with him among his deale ships, which we did to half a score, where he showed me the difference between Dram, Swinsound, Christiania, and others, and told me many pleasant notions concerning their manner of cutting and sawing them by watermills, and the reason how deales become dearer and cheaper, among

others, when the snow is not so great as to fill up the vallies that they may pass from hill to hill over the snow, then it is dear carriage. From on board he took me to his yarde, where vast and many places of deales, sparrs, and bulks, &c., the difference between which I never knew before, and indeed am very proud of this evening's work. He had me into his house, which is most pretty and neat and well furnished. After a glass, not of wine, for I would not be tempted to drink any, but a glass of mum, I well home by water, but it being late was forced to land at the Custom House, and so home and to bed, and after I was a-bed, letters came from the Duke for the fitting out of four ships forthwith from Portsmouth (I know not yet for what) so I was forced to make Will get them wrote, and signed them in bed and sent them away by express.

24th (Midsummer day). Up early and to my office, putting things in order against we sit. There came to me my cozen Harry Alcocke, whom I much respect, to desire (by a letter from my father to me, where he had been some days) my helpe for him to some place. I proposed the sea to him, and I think he will take it, and I hope do well. Sat all the morning, and I bless God I find that by my diligence of late and still, I do get ground in the office every day. At noon to the Change, where I begin to be known also, and so home to dinner, and then to the office all the afternoon dispatching business. At night news is brought me that Field<sup>1</sup> the rogue hath this day cast me at Guildhall

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<sup>1</sup> See Feb. 4, 1661-2, *ante*.

in 30*l.* for his imprisonment, to which I signed his commitment with the rest of the officers ; but they having been parliament-men, he do begin the law with me ; but threatens more, but I hope the Duke of York will bear me out. At night home, and Mr. Spong came to me, and so he and I sat singing upon the leades till almost ten at night, and so he went away (a pretty, harmless, and ingenious man), and I to bed, in a very great content of mind, which I hope by my care still in my business will continue to me.

25th. Up by four o'clock, and put my accounts with my Lord into a very good order, and so to my office, and then to the Wardrobe, and into Thames Street, beyond the Bridge, and there enquired among the shops the price of tarre and oyle, and do find great content in it, and hope to save the King money by this practice.

26th. To the office, and there all the morning sitting till noon, and then took Commissioner Pett home to dinner with me. He being gone, comes Mr. Nicholson,<sup>1</sup> my old fellow-student at Magdalen, and we played three or four things upon the violin and basse, and so parted, and I to my office till night.

27th. To my Lord, who rose as soon as he heard I was there ; and in his night-gowne and shirt stood talking with me alone two hours, I believe, concerning his greatest matters of state and interest. — Among other things, that his greatest design is, first, to get

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Nicholson, A.M., 1672.

clear of all debts to the King for the Embassy money, and then a pardon. Then, to get his land settled; and then to discourse and advise what is best for him, whether to keep his sea employment longer or no. For he do discern that the Duke would be willing to have him out, and that by Coventry's means. And here he told me, how the terms at Argier<sup>1</sup> were wholly his; and that he did plainly tell Lawson and agree with him, that he would have the honour of them, if they should ever be agreed to; and that accordingly they did come over hither entitled, "Articles concluded on by Sir J. Lawson, according to instructions received from His Royal Highness James Duke of York, &c. and from His Excellency the Earle of Sandwich." (Which however was more than needed; but Lawson tells my Lord in his letter, that it was not he, but the Council of Warr that would have "His Royal Highness" put into the title, though he did not contribute one word to it.) But the Duke of York did yesterday propose them to the Council, to be printed with this title: "Concluded on by Sir J. Lawson, Knt." and my Lord quite left out. Here I find my Lord very politique; for he tells me, that he discerns they design to set up Lawson as much as they can: and that he do counterplot them by setting him up higher still; by which they will find themselves spoiled of their design, and at last grow jealous of Lawson. This he told me with much pleasure; and that several of

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<sup>1</sup> Algiers. (M. B.)

the Duke's servants, by name my Lord Barkeley, Mr. Talbot, and others, had complained to my Lord, of Coventry, and would have him out. My Lord do acknowledge that his greatest obstacle is Coventry. He did seem to hint such a question as this : " Hitherto I have been supported by the King and Chancellor against the Duke ; but what if it should come about, that it should be the Duke and Chancellor against the King ; " which, though he said it in these plain words, yet I could not fully understand it ; but may more hereafter. My Lord did also tell me, that the Duke himself at Portsmouth did thank my Lord for all his pains and care ; and that he perceived it must be the old Captains that must do the business ; and that the new ones would spoil all. And that my Lord did very discreetly tell the Duke (though quite against his judgement and inclination), that, however, the King's new captaines ought to be borne with a little and encouraged. By which he will oblige that party, and prevent, as much as may be, their envy ; but he says that certainly things will go to rack if ever the old captains should be wholly out, and the new ones only command. Then we fell to talk of Sir J. Minnes, of whom my Lord hath a very slight opinion, and that at first he did come to my Lord very displeased and sullen, and had studied and turned over all his books to see whether it had ever been that two flags should ride together in the main-top, but could not find it, nay, he did call his captains on board to consult them. So when he came by my Lord's side, he took down his

flag, and all the day did not hoist it again, but next day my Lord did tell him that it was not so fit to ride without a flag, and therefore told him that he should wear it in the fore-top, for it seems my Lord saw his instructions, which were that he should not wear his flag in the maintop in the presence of the Duke or my Lord. But that after that my Lord did caresse him, and he do believe him as much his friend as his interest will let him ; and so I parted, and to my office, where I met Sir W. Pen,<sup>1</sup> and he desired a turne with me in the garden, where he told me the day now was fixed for his going into Ireland ; and that whereas I had mentioned some service he could do a friend of mine there, Saml. Pepys,<sup>2</sup> he told me he would most readily do what I would command him, and then told me we must needs eat a dish of meat together before he went, and so invited me and my wife on Sunday next. To all which I did give a cold consent, for my heart cannot love or have a good opinion of him since his last playing the knave with me, but he took no notice of our difference at all, nor I to him, and so parted, and I by water to Deptford, where I found Sir W. Batten alone paying off the yarde three quarters pay. Thence to dinner where too great a one was prepared, at which I was very much troubled, and wished I had not been there. After dinner comes Sir J. Minnes and some captains with him, who had been at a Councill of Warr to-day, who tell us they

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<sup>1</sup> Penn was Governor of Kinsale.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned elsewhere as "My cousin in Ireland."

have acquitted Captain Hall, who was accused of cowardice in letting of old Winter, the Argier pyrate, go away from him with a prize or two ; and also Captain Diamond of the murder laid to him of a man that he had struck, but he lived many months after, till being drunk, he fell into the hold, and there broke his jawe and died. To the pay again, where I left them, and walked to Redriffe, and so home.

28th. Up to my Lord's and my own accounts, and so to the office, and there again all the afternoon till night, and so home. This day a genteel woman came to me, claiming kindred of me, as she had once done before, and borrowed 10s. of me promising to repay it at night, but I hear nothing of her. I shall trust her no more. Great talk there is of a fear of a war with the Dutch ; and we have order to pitch upon twenty ships to be forthwith set out ; but I hope it is but a scare-crow to the world, to let them see that we can be ready for them ; though, God knows ! the King is not able to set out five ships at this present without great difficulty, we neither having money, credit, nor stores. My mind is now in a wonderful condition of quiet and content, more than ever in all my life, since my minding the business of my office, which I have done most constantly ; and I find it to be the very effect of my late oathes against wine and play, which, if God please, I will keep constant in, for now my business is a delight to me, and brings me great credit, and my purse encreases too.

29th (Lord's day). Up by four o'clock, and to the



settling of my own accounts, and I do find upon my monthly ballance that I am worth 650*l.*, the greatest sum that ever I was yet master of. I pray God give me a thankfull spirit, and care to improve and encrease it. To church with my wife, who this day put on her green petticoate of flowred satin, with fine white and gimp lace of her own putting on, which is very pretty. Home with Sir W. Pen to dinner by appointment, and to church again in the afternoon, and then home, and in the evening to supper again to Sir W. Pen. Whatever the matter is, he do much fawne upon me, and I perceive would not fall out with me, and his daughter mighty officious to my wife, but I shall never be deceived again by him, but do hate him and his traitorous tricks with all my heart. It was an invitation in order to his taking leave of us to-day, he being to go for Ireland in a few days.

30th. Up betimes, and to my office where I fell upon boring holes for me to see from my closet into the great office, without going forth, wherein I please myself much. So settled to business, and at noon with my wife to the Wardrobe, and there dined, and staid talking all the afternoon with my Lord, and about four o'clock took coach with my wife and Lady, and went toward my house, calling at my Lady Carteret's, who was within by chance, and so we sat with her a little. Among other things told my Lady how my Lady Fanshaw<sup>1</sup> is fallen out with her only for

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<sup>1</sup> Anne, daughter of Sir John Harrison, of Balls, in Hertfordshire, wife

speaking in behalf of the French, which my Lady wonders at, they having been formerly like sisters, but we see there is no true lasting friendship in the world. Thence to my house, where I took great pride to lead her through the Court by the hand, she being very fine, and her page carrying up her train. She staid a little at my house, and then walked through the garden, and took water, and went first on board the King's pleasure boat, which pleased her much. Then to Greenwich Parke; and with much ado she was able to walk up to the top of the hill, and so down again, and took boat, and so through bridge to Black-fryers, and home, she being much pleased with the ramble in every particular of it. So we supped with her, and then walked home, and to bed.

#### OBSERVATIONS.

This I take to be as bad a juncture as ever I observed. The King and his new Queene minding their pleasures at Hampton Court. All people discontented; some that the King do not gratify them enough; and the others, Fanatiques of all sorts, that the King do take away their liberty of conscience; and the height of the Bishops, who I fear will ruin all again. They do much cry up the manner of Sir H. Vane's death, and he deserves it. They clamour against the chimney-money, and the people say, they will not pay it without force. And in the mean time,

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of Sir Richard Fanshawe; see 29th June, 1669. She wrote "*Memoirs*" of her life, which have been published, and are extremely interesting.

like to have war abroad; and Portugall to assist, when we have not money to pay for any ordinary layings-out at home. Myself all in dirt about building of my house and Sir W. Batten's a story higher. Into a good way, fallen on minding my business and saving money, which God encrease; and I do take great delight in it, and see the benefit of it. In a longing mind of going to see Brampton, but cannot get three days time, do what I can. In very good health, my wife and myself.

July 1st. To the office, and there we sat till past noon, and then Captain Cuttance and I by water to Deptford, where the Royal James (in which my Lord went out the last voyage, though he came back in the Charles) was paying off by Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen. So to dinner, and from thence I sent to my Lord to know whether she should be a first rate, as the men would have her, or a second. He answered that we should forbear paying the officers and such whose pay differed upon the rate of the ship, till he could speak with his Royal Highness. To the pay again after dinner, and seeing of Cooper, the mate of the ship, whom I knew in the Charles, I spoke to him about teaching the mathematiques, and do please myself in my thoughts of learning of him, and bade him come to me in a day or two. Towards evening I left them, and to Redriffe by land, Mr. Cowly, the Clerk of the Cheque, with me, discoursing concerning the abuses of the yarde, in which he did give me much light. So by water home, and after half an

houre sitting talking with my wife, who was afeard I did intend to go with my Lord to fetch the Queene mother over,\* in which I did clear her doubts, I went to bed by daylight, in order to my rising early to-morrow.

2nd. Up while the chimes went four, and to put down my journal, and so to my office, to read over such instructions as concern the officers of the Yard ; for I am much upon seeing into the miscarriages there. By and by, by appointment, comes Commissioner Pett ; and then a messenger from Mr. Coventry, who sits in his boat expecting us, and so we down to him at the Tower, and there took water all, and to Deptford (he in our passage taking notice how much difference there is between the old Captains for obedience and order, and the King's new Captains, which I am very glad to hear him confess) ; and there we went into the Store-house, and viewed first the provisions there, and then his books, but Mr. Davis himself was not there, he having a kinswoman in the house dead, for which, when by and by I saw him, he do trouble himself most ridiculously, as if there was never another woman in the world ; in which so much lazinesse, as also in the Clerkes of the Cheque and Survey (which after one another we did examine), as that I do not perceive that there is one-third of their duties performed ; but I perceive, to my great content, Mr. Coventry will have things reformed. So Mr. Coventry to London, and Pett and I to the Pay, and so to dinner, and to the Pay againe, where I did relieve

several of my Lord Sandwich's people, but was sorry to see them so peremptory, and at every word would complain to my Lord, as if they shall have such a command over my Lord. In the evening I went forth and took a walk with Mr. Davis, and told him what had passed at his office to-day, and did give him my advice, and so with the rest by barge home and to bed.

3rd. Up by four o'clock and to my office till 8 o'clock, writing over two copies of our contract with Sir W. Rider, &c., for 500 Ton of hempe, which, because it is a secret, I have the trouble of writing over as well as drawing. Then home to dress myself, and so to the office, where another fray between Sir R. Ford and myself about his yarne, wherein I find the board to yield on my side, and was glad thereof, though troubled that the office should fall upon me of disoblising Sir Richard. At noon we all by invitation dined at the Dolphin with the Officers of the Ordnance; where Sir W. Compton,<sup>1</sup> Mr. O'Neale,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See May 6, 1660, and note.

<sup>2</sup> The best account of this person is given in his monumental inscription, in Boughton-Malherbe Church: — "Here lies the body of Mr. Daniel O'Neale, who descended from that greate, honourable, and antient family of the O'Neales, in Ireland, to whom he added new luster by his owne merit, being rewarded for his courage and loyalty in the civil warrs, under King Charles the First and Charles the Second, with the offices of Postmaster General of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Master of the Powder, and Groome of His Majties Bedchamber. He was married to the right honourable Katherine Countesse of Chesterfeild, who erected him this monument, as one of the last markes of her kindnesse, to show her affection longer than her weak breath would serve to express it. He died A D. 1663, aged 60." In the "Letters of Philip, Second Earl of Chesterfield," p. 6, it is stated that he died on the

and other great persons, were. After dinner, was brought to Sir W. Compton a gun to discharge seven times ;<sup>1</sup> the best of all devices that ever I saw, and very serviceable, and not a bawble ; for it is much approved of, and many thereof made. Thence to my office all the afternoon as long as I could see. In the evening came Mr. Lewis to me, and very ingeniously did enquire whether I ever did look into the business of the Chest at Chatham ;<sup>2</sup> and after my readiness to be informed did appear to him, he did produce a paper, wherein he stated the government of the Chest to me ; and upon the whole did tell me how it hath ever been abused, and to this day is ; and what a meritorious act it would be to look after it ; which I am resolved to do, if God bless me ; and do thank him very much for it. So home, and after a turn or two upon the leades with my wife, who has lately had but little of my company, since I begun to follow my business, but is contented therewith since she sees how I spend my time, and so to bed.

4th. Up by five o'clock, and after my journall put in order, to my office about my business, which I am resolved to follow, for every day I see what ground I get by it. By and by comes Mr. Cooper, mate of

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9th of April, 1667; but the date of the year should be 1663. The "Great O'Neale" whose death Pepys records as having occurred on the 24th October, 1664, many months later, could not be the same person if the dates are correct.

<sup>1</sup> See note March 4, 1668-4. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> See Pepys's own account of the institution of the Chest, Nov. 13, 1662 *post.*

the Royall Charles, of whom I intend to learn mathe-  
 matiques, and do begin with him to-day, he being a  
 very able man, and no great matter, I suppose, will  
 content him. After an houre's being with him at  
 arithmetique, (my first attempt being to learn the  
 multiplication-table) ; then we parted till to-morrow.  
 And so to my business at my office again till noon,  
 about which time Sir W. Warren did come to me  
 about business, and did begin to instruct me in the  
 nature of fine timber and deales, telling me the nature  
 of every sort ; and from that we fell to discourse of  
 Sir W. Batten's corruption and the people that he  
 employs, and from one discourse to another of the  
 kind. I was much pleased with his company, and so  
 staid talking with him all alone at my office till 4 in  
 the afternoon, without eating or drinking all day, and  
 then parted, and I home to eat a bit, and so back  
 again to my office ; and toward the evening came Mr.  
 Shepley, who is to go out of town to-morrow, and so  
 he and I with much ado settled his accounts with my  
 Lord, which, though they be true and honest, yet so  
 obscure, that it vexes me to see in what manner they  
 are kept. He being gone, and leave taken of him as  
 of a man likely not to come to London again a great  
 while, I eat a bit of bread and butter, and so to bed.  
 This day I sent my brother Tom, at his request, my  
 father's old Bass Viall which he and I have kept so  
 long, but I fear Tom will do little good at it.

5th. To my office all the morning, and at noon  
 had Sir W. Pen, who I hate with all my heart for his

base treacherous tricks, but yet I think it not policy to declare it yet, and his son William, to my house to dinner, where was also Mr. Creed and my cozen Harry Alcocke. I having some venison given me a day or two ago, and so I had a shoulder roasted, another baked, and the umbles<sup>1</sup> baked in a pie, and all very well done. We were merry as I could be in that company, and the more because I would not seem otherwise to Sir W. Pen, he being within a day or two to go for Ireland. After dinner he and his son went away, and Mr. Creed would, with all his rhetorique, have persuaded me to have gone to a play; and in good earnest I find my nature desirous to have gone, notwithstanding my promise and my business, to which I have lately kept myself so close, but I did refuse it, and I hope shall ever do so, and above all things it is considerable that my mind was never in my life in so good a condition of quiet as it has been since I have followed my business and seen myself to get greater and greater fitness in my employment, and honour every day more than other. So at my office all the afternoon, and then my mathematiques at night with Mr. Cooper, and so to supper and to bed.

6th (Lord's day). Settled my accounts with my wife for housekeeping, and do see that my kitchen,

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<sup>1</sup> *Umbles*. Part of the inside of a deer — the liver, kidneys, &c. "The keeper hath the skin, head, *umbles*, chine and shoulders." — HOLINSHEAD, i. 204.

"The old cookery books give receipts for making *umble* pies. Hence the phrase 'making persons eat umble pie,' meaning to *humble* them." — NARES' *Glossary*. (M. B.)



besides wine, fire, candle, sope, and many other things, comes to about 30s. a week, or a little over. To church, where Mr. Mills made a lazy sermon. My wife and I to church again in the afternoon, and that done I walked to the Wardrobe and to supper with my Lady (Sandwich) ; who tells me, with much trouble, that my Lady Castlemaine is still as great with the King, and that the King comes as often to her as ever he did. Jack Cole, my old friend, found me out at the Wardrobe ; and, among other things, he told me that certainly most of the chief ministers of London would fling up their livings ; and that, soon or late, the issue thereof would be sad to the King and Court.

7th. Up and to my office early, and there all the morning alone, and after dinner to my office again, and by and by comes Mr. Cooper, so he and I to our mathematiques.

8th. To the Wardrobe ; where alone with my Lord above an hour ; and he do seem still to have his old confidence in me ; and tells me to boot, that Mr. Coventry hath spoke of me to him to great advantage ; wherein I am much pleased. By and by comes in Mr. Coventry to visit my Lord ; and so my Lord and he and I walked together in the great chamber a good while ; and I found him a most ingenuous man and good company.

9th. Up by four o'clock, and at my multiplication-table hard, which is all the trouble I meet withal in my arithmetique. Sir W. Pen came to my office to take his leave of me, and desiring a turn in the garden, did

commit the care of his building to me,<sup>1</sup> and offered all his services to me in all matters of mine. I did, God forgive me ! promise him all my service and love, though the rogue knows he deserves none from me, nor do I intend to show him any ; but as he dissembles with me, so must I with him. Then to my business till night, and then came Mr. Mills, the minister, to see me, which he hath but rarely done to me, though every day almost to others of us ; but he is a cunning fellow, and knows where the good victuals is, and the good drink, at Sir W. Batten's. However, I used him civilly, though I love him as I do the rest of his coat.

10th. Up by four o'clock, and before I went to the office I practised my arithmetique, and then, when my wife was up, did call her and Sarah, and did make up a difference between them, for she is so good a servant as I am loth to part with her. So to the office all the morning, where very much business, but it vexes me to see so much disorder at our table, that, every man minding a several business, we dispatch nothing.

11th. Up by four o'clock, and hard at my multiplication-table, which I am now almost master of, and so made me ready and to my office, and then a messenger from Mr. Coventry, who stays in his boat at the Tower for us. So we to him, and down to Deptford first, and there viewed some deales lately served in at a low price, which our officers, like knaves, would

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<sup>1</sup> They had been allowed to raise their houses.

untruly value in their worth, but we found them good. Then to Woolwich, and viewed well all the houses and stores there, which lie in very great confusion for want of storehouses. Then to the Ropeyarde, and there viewed the hempe, wherein we found great corruption. So by water back again. About five in the afternoon to Whitehall, and so to St. James's; and at Mr. Coventry's chamber, which is very neat and fine, we had a pretty neat dinner, and after dinner fell to discourse of business and regulation, and do think of many things that will put matters into better order, and upon the whole my heart rejoices to see Mr. Coventry so ingenious, and able, and studious to do good, and with much frankness and respect to Mr. Pett and myself particularly.

12th. Up by five o'clock, and put things in order to be laid up, against my workmen come on Monday to take down the top of my house. At night with Cooper at arithmetique.

13th (Lord's day). To Deptford, on purpose to sign and seale a couple of warrants, as justice of peace in Kent, against one Annis, who is to be tried next Tuesday, at Maidstone assizes, for stealing some lead out of Woolwich Yarde. Come home I found a rabbit at the fire, and so supped well, and so to my journal and to my bed.

14th. Up by 4 o'clock and to my arithmetique, and so to my office till 8, then to Thames Street along with old Mr. Green, among the tarr-men, and did instruct myself in the nature and prices of tarr, but could not

get Stockholm for the use of the office under 10*l.* 15*s.* per last, which is a great price. So home, and at noon Dr. T. Pepys to dinner, where by chance comes Mr. Pierce, the chyrurgeon, and then Mr. Battersby, the minister, and then Mr. Dun, and it happened that I had a haunch of venison boiled, and so they were very wellcome and merry ; but my simple Dr. do talk so like a fool that I am weary of him.

15th. Up by 4 o'clock and to my office, and there busy till sitting time. So at the office and broke up late. In the evening comes Mr. Cooper, and I took him by water on purpose to tell me things belonging to ships, which was time well spent. About bedtime it fell a-raining, and the house being all open at top, it vexed me ; but there was no help for it.

16th. In the morning I found all my ceilings spoiled with raine last night, so that I fear they must be all new whited when the work is done. To my office, and by and by came Mr. Moore to me, and so I went home and consulted about drawing up a fair state of all my Lord's accounts, which being settled, he went away. At noon to my Lord's with it, but found him at dinner, and some great company with him, Mr. Edward Montagu and his brother, and Mr. Coventry, and after dinner he went out with them, and so I lost my labour ; but dined with Mr. Moore and the people below, who after dinner fell to talk of Portugall rings, and Captain Ferrers offered five or six to sell, and I seeming to like a ring made of a coco-nutt with a stone done in it, he did offer and would give it me. This

day I was told that my Lady Castlemaine (being quite fallen out with her husband) did yesterday go away from him, with all her plate, jewels, and other best things ; and is gone to Richmond to a brother of her's ; which, I am apt to think, was a design to get out of towne, that the King might come at her the better.

17th. To my office, and by and by to our sitting ; where much business. Mr. Coventry took his leave, being to go with the Duke over for the Queene-Mother.

18th. Up very early, and got a-top of my house, seeing the design of my work, and like it well, and it comes into my head to have my dining-room wainscoated, which will be very pretty. By-and-by by water to Deptford, to put several things in order, being myself now only left in towne, so to the office till night, and then comes Cooper for my mathematiques, but, in good earnest, my head is so full of business that I cannot understand it as otherwise I should do.

19th. In the afternoon I went upon the river to look after some tarr I am sending down and some coles ; it raining hard upon the water, I put ashore and sheltered myself, while the King came by in his barge, going down towards the Downes to meet the Queene : the Duke being gone yesterday. But methought it lessened my esteem of a king, that he should not be able to command the rain.

20th (Lord's day). My wife and I lay talking long in bed, and at last she is come to be willing to stay two months in the country. To dinner, we had a calf's

head and bacon at my chamber at Sir W. Pen's, and there I and my wife concluded to have her go and her two mayds and the boy, and so there shall be none but Will and I left at home. At night to my office, and there put down this day's passages in my journall, and read my oathes, as I am obliged every Lord's day.

21st. Up early. I did take boat and down to Greenwich, to Captain Cocke's, who hath a most pleasant seat, and neat. Here I drank wine, and eat some fruit off the trees ; and he showed a great rarity, which was two or three of a great number of silver dishes and plates, which he bought of an ambassador that did lack money, in the edge or rim of which was placed silver and gold medalls, very ancient, and I believe wrought, which, if they be, they are the greatest rarity that ever I saw in my life, and I will show Mr. Crumlum them. Thence to Woolwich to the Rope-yard ; and there looked over several sorts of hempe, and did fall upon my great survey of seeing the working and experiments of the strength and the charge in the dressing of every sort ; and I do think have brought it to so great a certainty, as I have done the King great service in it : and do purpose to get it ready against the Duke's coming to towne to present to him. Thence to the docke, where we walked in Mr. Shelden's garden, eating more fruit, and drinking, and eating figs, which were very good, and talking while the Loyal James was bringing towards the docke, and then we went out and saw the manner and trouble of dock-

ing such a ship, which yet they could not do, but only brought her head into the Docke, and so shored her up till next tide. But, good God ! what a deal of company was there from both yards to helpe to do it, when half the company would have done it as well. But I see it is impossible for the King to have things done as cheap as other men.

22d. I had letters from the Downes from Mr. Coventry ; who tells me of the foul weather they had last Sunday, that drove them back from near Bologne, whither they were going for the Queene, back again to the Downes, with the loss of their cables, sayles, and masts ; but are all safe, only my Lord Sandwich, who went before with the yachts ; they know not what is become of him, which do trouble me much ; but I hope he got ashore before the storm begun ; which God grant ! All day at the office, only at home at dinner, where I was highly angry with my wife for her keys being out of the way, but they were found at last, and so friends again.

23rd. This morning angry a little, and my house being so much out of order makes me a little pettish. I went to the office, and there dispatched business by myself, and so again in the afternoon ; being a little vexed that my brother Tom, by his neglect, do fail to get a coach for my wife and mayde this week, by which she will not be at Brampton Feast, to meet my Lady at my father's. Much disturbed, by reason of the talk up and downe the towne, that my Lord Sandwich is lost ; but I trust in God the contrary.

24th. I hear, to my great content, that my Lord Sandwich is safe landed in France.

25th. At the office all the morning, reading Mr. Holland's<sup>1</sup> discourse of the navy, lent me by Mr. Turner, and am much pleased with them, they hitting the very diseases of the Navy, which we are troubled with now-a-days.

26th. I had a letter from Mr. Creed, who hath escaped narrowly in the King's yacht, and got safe to the Downes after the late storm; and he says that there the King do tell him, that he is sure my Lord is landed in Callis safe, of which being glad, I sent news thereof to my Lord Crew, and by the post to my Lady into the country. This afternoon I went to Westminster; and there hear that the King and Queene intend to come to White Hall from Hampton Court next week, for all winter. Thence to Mrs. Sarah,<sup>2</sup> and there looked over my Lord's lodgings, which are very pretty; and White Hall garden and the Bowling-ally (where lords and ladies are now at bowles), in brave condition. Mrs. Sarah told me how the falling out between my Lady Castlemaine and her Lord was about christening of the child<sup>3</sup> lately, which he would have, and had done by a priest: and, some days after, she had it again christened by a minister; the King, and

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<sup>1</sup> John Holland, whose work is in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Sandwich's housekeeper.

<sup>3</sup> The first son whom Lady Castlemaine bore to Charles II. was Charles Fitzroy, born in June, 1662, and afterwards created Duke of Southampton.



Lord of Oxford,<sup>1</sup> and Duchesse of Suffolk,<sup>2</sup> being witnesses : and christened with a proviso, that it had not already been christened. Since that she left her Lord, carrying away every thing in the house ; so much as every dish, and cloth, and servant but the porter. He is gone discontented into France, they say, to enter a monastery ; and now she is coming back again to her house in King-streete. But I hear that the Queene did prick her out of the list presented her by the King ; desiring that she might have that favour done her, or that he would send her from whence she come : and that the King was angry and the Queene discontented a whole day and night upon it ; but that the King hath promised to have nothing to do with her hereafter. But I cannot believe that the King can fling her off so, he loving her too well : and so I writ this night to my Lady to be my opinion : she calling her my lady, and the lady I admire. Here I find that my Lord hath lost the garden to his lodgings, and that it is turning into a tennis-court.

27th (Lord's day). I to walk in the Parke, which is now every day more and more pleasant, by the new works upon it. Here meeting with Laud Crispe, I took him to the further end, and sat under a tree in a corner, and there sung some songs.

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<sup>1</sup> Aubrey de Vere, twentieth and last Earl of Oxford. Ob. 1702-3, s. p.

<sup>2</sup> There was no Duchess of Suffolk at this time; the lady meant must have been Barbara, eldest daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, widow of Richard Wenman, eldest son of Philip, third Viscount Wenman, an Irish peer, and second wife of James Howard, third Earl of Suffolk. She was Mistress of the Robes to the Queen, who might well feel annoyed at her own servant

28th. Up early, and by six o'clock, after my wife was ready, I walked with her to the George, at Holborne Conduit,<sup>1</sup> where the coach stood ready to carry her and her mayde to Bugden: so I took a troubled though willing good-bye, because of the bad-condition of my house to have a family in it. Walked to the water-side, and there took boat for the Tower; hearing that the Queene-Mother is come this morning already as high as Woolwich: and that my Lord Sandwich was with her; at which my heart was glad. So home all alone to dinner, and then to the office, and in the evening Cooper comes, and he being gone, to my chamber a little troubled and melancholy, to my lute, and so to bed, Will lying there at my feet.

29th. Early up, and brought all my money, which is near 300*l.*, out of my house into this chamber; and so to the office, and there we sat all the morning, Sir George Carteret and Mr. Coventry being come from sea. This morning among other things I broached the business of our being abused about flags, which I know doth trouble Sir W. Batten, but I care not. To the office again, and in the evening walked to Deptford (Cooper with me talking of mathematiques), to

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being selected for the office of sponsor to the King's base-born son. Lady Castlemaine was niece to Lady Suffolk, who perhaps had been her godmother, as they both bore the same christian name.

<sup>1</sup> "The Fleet (the river so called from its rapid current) next directed its course past Bagnigge Wells, &c., and Saffron Hill and so to the bottom of Holborn. Here it received the water of the Old Bourne (whence the name Holborn), which rose near Middle Row, and the channel of which forms the sewer of Holborn Hill to this day."—AYMER, *Introduction to the Chronicles de London*, p. xii. Camden Society, 1844. (M. B.)

send a fellow to prison for cutting of buoy ropes, and to see the difference between the flags sent in now-a-days, and I find the old ones, which were much cheaper, to be wholly as good. So I took one of a sort with me, and Mr. Wayth accompanying of me a good way, talking of the faults of the Navy, I walked to Redriffe back, and so home by water.

30th. Up early, and to my office, where Cooper came to me and begun his lecture upon the body of a ship, which my having of a modell in the office is of great use to me, and very pleasant and useful it is. By water to White Hall, and there waited upon my Lord Sandwich ; and joyed him, at his lodgings, of his safe coming home after all his danger, which he confesses to be very great. And his people do tell me how bravely my Lord did carry himself, while my Lord Crofts<sup>1</sup> did cry ; and I perceive it is all the town talk how poorly he carried himself. But the best was of one Mr. Rawlins,<sup>2</sup> a courtier, that was with my Lord ; and in the greatest danger cried, " My Lord, I won't give you three-pence for your place now." But all ends in the honour of the pleasure-boats ; which, had they not been very good boats, they could never have endured the sea as they did. Thence with Captain Fletcher, of the Gage, to Woolwich, expecting to find

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<sup>1</sup> William Crofts, created Baron Crofts of Saxham in Suffolk, 1658, and died s. p. 1677.

<sup>2</sup> Giles Rawlings occurs in an old household book of James Duke of York, at Audley End, as Gentleman of the Privy Purse to his Royal Highness, with a salary of £400 per annum. See 19th August, *post*.

Sir W. Batten there upon his survey, but he is not come, and so we got a dish of steaks at the White Hart, while his clarkes and others were feasting of it in the best room of the house, and after dinner playing at shuffleboard,<sup>1</sup> and when at last they heard I was there, they went about their survey. But God help the King ! what surveys shall be taken after this manner ! I after dinner about my business to the Rope-yard, and there staid till night, repeating several trialls of the strength, wayte, waste, and other things of hempe, by which I have furnished myself enough to finish my intended business of stating the goodness of all sorts of hempe. At night home by boat with Sir W. Warren.

31st. At noon Mr. Coventry and I by his coach to the Exchange together ; and in Lumbard-streete met Captain Browne of the Rosebush : at which he was cruel angry ; and did threaten to go to-day to the Duke at Hampton Court, and get him turned out

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<sup>1</sup> *Shuffleboard*, called also "shovel-board, shove-board, shove-groat." A game which consisted in pushing or shaking pieces of money on a board to reach certain marks. The board had lines or divisions, according to the value of which the player counted his game. It was played at one time with silver groats, and thence had its name; afterwards with a smooth shilling, but still retaining its name of *shove-groat*.

"Quoit him down, Bardolph, like a *shove-groat* shilling."

SHAKESPEARE, 2 *Henry IV.*, act ii. sc. 4.

"Seven groats in mill-sixpences, and two Edward *shovel-boards*, that cost me two shillings and twopence apiece."

*Merry Wives of Windsor*, act i. sc. 1.

Edward the Sixth's shillings were then for the most part used at *shove-board*. (M. B.)

because he was not sailed. So took boat to Billingsgate, and went down on board the Rosebush at Woolwich, and found all things out of order, but after frightening the officers there, we left them to make more haste, and so on shore to the yarde, and did the same to the officers of the yarde, that the ship is not dispatched. Here we found Sir W. Batten going about his survey, but so poorly and unlike a survey of the Navy, that I am ashamed of it, and so is Mr. Coventry. So home late, and it being the last day of the month, I did make up my accounts before I went to bed, and found myself worth about 650*l.*, for which the Lord God be praised, and so to bed. I drank but two glasses of wine this day, and yet it makes my head ake all night, and indisposed me all the next day, of which I am glad. I am now in towne only with my man Will and Jane, and because my house is in building, I do lie at Sir W. Pen's house, he being gone to Ireland. My wife, her mayde, and boy gone to Brampton. I am very well entered into the business and esteem of the office, and do ply it close, and find benefit by it.

August 1st. Up, my head akeing, and to my office, where Cooper read me another lecture upon my modell very pleasant. So to my business all the morning, which increases by people coming now to me to the office.

2nd. Up early, and got me ready in my riding clothes, and took boat with Will, and down to Greenwich, where Captain Cocke not being at home I was

vexed, and went to walk in the Park till he came thither to me : and Will's forgetting to bring my boots in the boat did also vex me, for I was forced to send the boat back againe for them. I to Captain Cocke's along with him to dinner, where I find his lady still pretty, but not so good a humour as I thought she was. We had a plain, good dinner, and I see they do live very frugally. I eat among other fruit much mulberrys, a thing I have not eat of these many years, since I used to be at Ashted,<sup>1</sup> at my cozen Pepys's. After dinner we to boat, and had a pleasant passage down to Gravesend, but it was nine o'clock before we got thither, so that we were in great doubt what to do, whether to stay there or no ; and the rather because I was afeard to ride, because of my paine ; but at the Swan, finding Mr. Hempson and Lieutenant Carteret of the Foresight come to meet me, I borrowed Mr. Hempson's horse, and he took another, and so we rode to Rochester in the dark. So after a glass of wine, we to our barge, that was ready for me, to the Hill-house, where we soon went to bed, before we slept I telling, upon discourse with Captain Cocke, the manner of my being cut of the stone, which pleased him much. So to sleep.

3rd (Lord's day). Up early, and with Captain Cocke to the dock-yard, a fine walk, and fine weather. Where we walked till Commissioner Pett came to us, and took us to his house, and showed us his garden

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<sup>1</sup> A village near Epsom.

and fine things, and did give us a fine breakfast of bread and butter, and sweetmeats and other things with great choice, and strong drinks, with which I could not avoyde making my head ake, though I drank but little. Thence by and by to church, by coach, with the Commissioner, and had a dull sermon. A full church, and some pretty women in it; among others, Beck Allen, who was a bride-mayde to a new married couple that came to church to-day, and, which was pretty strange, sat in a pew hung with mourning for a mother of the bride's, which methinks should have been taken down. After dinner to church again, where quite weary, and so with the Commissioner to his house, and had a syllabub, and saw his closet, which came short of what I expected, but there were fine modell's of ships in it indeed, whose worth I could not judge of. So to supper, and so Captain Cocke and I to bed. Among other stories he told me how despicable a thing it is to be a hangman in Poland, although it be a place of credit. And that, in his time, there was some repairs to be made of the gallows there, which was very fine of stone; but nobody could be got to mend it till the Burgo-master, or Mayor of the towne, with all the companies of those trades which were necessary to be used about those repairs, did go in their habits with flags, in solemn procession to the place, and there the Burgo-master did give the first blow with the hammer upon the wooden work; and the rest of the Masters of the Companys upon the works belong-

ing to their trades ; that so workmen might not be ashamed to be employed upon doing of the gallows' works.

4th. Up by four o'clock in the morning and walked to the Docke, where Commissioner Pett and I took barge and went to the guardships and mustered them, finding them but badly manned. Thence to the Charles, and were troubled to see her kept so neglectedly ; thence to Upnor Castle, and there went up to the top, where there is a fine prospect, but of very small force ; so to the yarde, and there mustered the whole ordinary, where great disorder by multitude of servants and old decrepid men, which must be remedied. So took barge at the docke and to Rochester, and there took coach about 8 at night and to Gravesend, where it was very dark before we got thither to the Swan ; and there, meeting with Doncaster, an old waterman of mine above bridge, we eat a short supper, being very merry with the drolling, drunken coachman that brought us, and so took water. It being very dark, and the wind rising, and our waterman unacquainted with this part of the river, so that we presently cast upon the Essex shoare, but got off again, and so, as well as we could, went on, but I in such feare that I could not sleep till we came to Erith, and there it begun to be calme, and the stars to shine, and so I began to take heart again, and the rest too, and so made shift to slumber a little. Above Woolwich we lost our way, and went back to Blackwall, and up and down, being guided



by nothing but the barking of a dog, which we had observed in passing by Blackwall, and so,

5th. Got right again with much ado, after two or three circles and so on, and at Greenwich set in Captain Cocke, and I set forward, hailing to all the King's ships at Deptford, but could not wake any man: so that we could have done what we would with their ships. At last waked one man; but it was a merchant ship, the Royall Catharine: so to the Tower-docke and home, where the girle sat up for me. It was about three o'clock, and putting Mr. Boddam out of my bed, went to bed, and lay till nine o'clock, and so the office, where we sat all the morning, Dined alone at home, and was glad my house is begun tiling.

6th. By water to White Hall; and so to St. James's; but there found Mr. Coventry gone to Hampton Court. So to my Lord's; and he is also gone: this being a great day at the Council about some business before the King. Here Mr. Pierce, the chyrurgeon, told me how Mr. Edward Montagu hath lately had a duell with Mr. Cholmely,<sup>1</sup> that is first gentleman-usher

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<sup>1</sup> Hugh Cholmeley, afterwards the third baronet of that name; he was the second son of Sir Hugh Cholmeley, of Whitby (governor of Scarborough for Charles I.), whose autobiography has been printed. This Hugh succeeded his nephew of the same name, who died a minor in June, 1665, after which date Pepys speaks of him by his title. In February, 1666, he married Lady Anne Compton, eldest daughter of Spencer, Earl of Northampton. He was afterwards, for some years, governor of Tangier, of which he published an account. He died 9th January, 1688. He was descended from a younger branch of that great family of Egertons and Cholmondeleys, of all of whom Sir Philip M. Grey Egerton is the head.

to the Queene, and was a messenger from the King to her in Portugall, and is a fine gentleman; but had received many affronts from Mr. Montagu, and some unkindness from my Lord, upon his score (for which I am sorry). He proved too hard for Montagu, and drove him so far backward that he fell into a ditch, and dropt his sword, but with honour would take no advantage over him; but did give him his life: and the world says Mr. Montagu did carry himself very poorly in the business, and hath lost his honour for ever with all people in it, of which I am very glad, in hopes that it will humble him. I hear also that he hath sent to my Lord to borrow 400*l.*, giving his brother Harvey's<sup>1</sup> security for it, and that my Lord will lend it him, for which I am sorry. This afternoon Mr. Waith was with me, and did tell me much concerning the Chest, which I am resolved to look into; and I perceive he is sensible of Sir W. Batten's carriage; and is pleased to see any thing work against him.

7th. Up by four o'clock and to my office, and by and by Mr. Cooper comes and to our modell, which pleases me more and more. This morning I got unexpectedly the Reserve for Mr. Cooper to be maister of, which was only by taking an opportune time to motion it, which is one good effect of my being constant at the office, that nothing passes without me; and I have the choice of my own time to propose

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<sup>1</sup> Sir D. Harvey married Mr. Montagu's sister. See October 10th, 1661 (M. B.)

anything I would have. Dined at home, and to the office again, it being become a pleasure to me now-a-days to follow my business, and the greatest part may be imputed to my drinking no wine, and going to no plays.

8th. Up by four o'clock in the morning, and at five by water to Woolwich, there to see the manner of tarring, and all the morning looking to see the several proceedings in making of cordage, and other things relating to that sort of works, much to my satisfaction. At noon came Mr. Coventry on purpose from Hampton Court to see the same, and dined with Mr. Falconer, and after dinner to several experiments of Hempe. Thence we walked talking very good discourse all the way to Greenwich, and I do find most excellent discourse from him. Among other things, his rule of suspecting every man that proposes any thing to him to be a knave ; or, at least, to have some ends of his own in it. Being led thereto by the story of Sir John Millicent,<sup>1</sup> that would have had a patent from King James for every man to have had leave to have given him a shilling ; and that he might take it of every man that had a mind to give it, and being answered that that was a fair thing, but what needed he a patent for it, and what he would do to them that would not give him. He answered, he would not force them ; but that they should come to the Council of State, to give a reason why they would

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<sup>1</sup> He is described in the Baronetages as of Barham, in Cambridgeshire.

not. Another rule is a proverb that he hath been taught, which is that a man that cannot sit still in his chamber (the reason of which I did not understand him), and he that cannot say no (that is, that is of so good a nature that he cannot deny any thing, or cross another in doing any thing), is not fit for business. The last of which is a very great fault of mine, which I must amend. Thence by boat; I being hot, he put the skirt of his cloake about me; and it being rough, he told me the passage of a Frenchman through London Bridge,<sup>1</sup> where, when he saw the great fall, he begun to cross himself and say his prayers in the greatest fear in the world, and soon as he was over, he swore "*Morbleu ! c'est le plus grand plaisir du monde,*" being the most like a French humour in the world. To Deptford, and there surprised the Yarde, and called them to a muster, and discovered many abuses, which we shall be able to understand hereafter and amend. Thence walked to Redriffe, and so to London Bridge, where I parted with him, and walked home and did a little business, and to supper and to bed.

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<sup>1</sup> When the first editions of this "Diary" were printed no note was required here. Before the erection of the present London Bridge, the fall of water at the ebb tide was great, and to pass at that time was called "Shooting the bridge." It was very hazardous for small boats. The ancient mode, even in Henry VIII.'s time, of going to the Tower and Greenwich, was to land at the Three Cranes, in Upper Thames Street, suffer the barges to shoot the bridge, and to enter them again at Billingsgate. See Cavendish's "*Wolsey*," p. 40, edit. 1852; Life of the Duke of Somerset in Fox's "*Acts*," vol. vi. p. 293; "*Life of Bp. Hall*," in Wordsworth's "*Eccl. Biog.*," iv. 318 edit. 1853.

9th. Up by four o'clock or a little after, and to my office, whither by and by comes Cooper, and did a good morning's work upon the rigging. By and by comes Mr. Coventry, and he and I alone sat at the office all the morning upon business. And so to dinner to Trinity House, and thence by his coach towards White Hall; but there being a stop at the Savoy,<sup>1</sup> we light and took water, and my Lord Sandwich being out of towne, we parted there, all the way having good discourse, and in short I find him the most ingenuous person I ever found in my life, and am happy in his acquaintance and my interest in him. Home by water, and did business at my office. Writing to my brother John to dissuade him from being Moderator of his year, which I hear is proffered him, of which I am very glad. By and by comes Cooper, and he and I by candlelight at my modell, being willing to learn as much of him as is possible before he goes.

10th (Lord's day). Being to dine at my brother's, I walked to St. Dunstan's, the church being now finished; and here I heard Dr. Bates,<sup>2</sup> who made a most eloquent sermon; and I am sorry I have hitherto had so low an opinion of the man, for I have not heard a neater sermon a great while, and more to my content. So to Tom's, where Dr. Fairebrother, newly come from Cambridge, met me, and Dr. Thomas Pepys.

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<sup>1</sup> The Savoy Palace in the Strand, a considerable part of which existed so lately as 1816.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Bates, a celebrated Nonconformist divine.

I framed myself as pleasant as I could, but my mind was another way. Hither came my uncle Fenner, hearing that I was here. He told me the new service-booke<sup>1</sup> (which is now lately come forth) was laid upon their deske at St. Sepulchre's for Mr. Gouge<sup>2</sup> to read; but he laid it aside, and would not meddle with it: and I perceive the Presbyters do all prepare to give over all against Bartholomewtide. Mr. Herring, being lately turned out at St. Bride's, did read the psalme to the people while they sung at Dr. Bates's, which methought is a strange turn.<sup>3</sup> After dinner to St. Bride's, and there heard one Carpenter, an old man, who, they say, hath been a Jesuite priest, and is come over to us; but he preaches very well. So home, and hear that Mr. Calamy hath taken his farewell this day of his people, and that others will do so the next Sunday. Mr. Turner,<sup>4</sup> the draper, I hear, is knighted, made Alderman, and pricked for Sheriffe, with Sir Thomas Bluddel,<sup>5</sup> for the next year, by the King, and so are called with great honour the King's Sheriffes.

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<sup>1</sup> The Common Prayer Book now in use. One of the sealed books, appointed by the Act of Uniformity, is still preserved in the Tower of London.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Gouge, an eminent Presbyterian minister, who had the church of St. Sepulchre during the Commonwealth, and abandoned it on the Act of Uniformity coming into force. There is an account of him in Calamy's "*Lives of the Ejected Ministers*," 8vo, 1713.

<sup>3</sup> A practice still obtains amongst the Dissenters of reading the psalm or hymn to be sung, two lines at a time.

<sup>4</sup> Sir William Turner, Lord Mayor of London, 1669.

<sup>5</sup> A mistake for Blutworth, who had been Colonel of the Orange Regiment of the trained bands, and Lord Mayor in 1666.

11th. All the morning at the office. Dean Fuller came to see me, and so to the Dolphin tavern, where I spent 6*d.* on him, but drank but one glass of wine, and so parted. He tells me that his niece, that sings so well, whom I have long longed to see, is married to one Mr. Boys, a wholesayle man at the Three Crowns in Cheapside. I to the office again, whither Cooper came and read his last lecture to me upon my modell, and so bid me good bye, he being to go to-morrow to Chatham to take charge of the ship I have got him. So to my business till 9 at night, and so to supper and to bed, my mind a little at ease because my house is now quite tiled.

12th. Up early at my office, and I find all people beginning to come to me. Among others Mr. Deane, the Assistant of Woolwich, who I find will discover to me the whole abuse that his Majesty suffers in the measuring of timber, of which I shall be glad. By and by we sat, and among other things Sir W. Batten and I had a difference about his clerk's making a warrant for a Maister, which I would not suffer, but got another signed, which he desires may be referred to a full board, and I am willing to it.

13th. Up early, and to my office. By and by we met on purpose to enquire into the business of the flag-makers, where I am the person that do chiefly manage the business against them on the King's part; and I do find it the greatest cheat that I have yet found; they having eightpence per yard allowed them by pretence of a contract, where no such thing ap-

pears; and it is threepence more than was formerly paid, and than I now offer the Board to have them done. To Lambeth; and there saw the little pleasure-boat in building by the King, my Lord Brunkard,<sup>1</sup> and the virtuosoës of the towne, according to new lines, which Mr. Pett cries up mightily, but how it will prove we shall soon see. So by water home, and busy at my study late, drawing a letter to the yards of reprehension and direction for the board to sign, in which I took great pains. So home and to bed.

14th. Commissioner Pett and I being invited, went by Sir John Winter's coach sent for us, to the Miter, in Fanchurch-street, to a venison-pasty; where I found him a very worthy man; and good discourse. Most of which was concerning the Forest of Deane, and the timber there, and iron-workes with their great antiquity, and the vast heaps of cinders which they find, and are now of great value, being necessary for the making of iron at this day; and without which they cannot work: with the age of many trees there left at a great fall in Edward the Third's time, by the name of forbid-trees, which at this day are called vorbid trees.

15th. Up very early, and up about seeing how my

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<sup>1</sup> William, second Lord Brouncker, Viscount of Castle Lyons; created M. D. in 1642, at Oxford: Keeper of the Great Seal to the Queen; a Commissioner of the Admiralty; and Master of St. Catherine's Hospital. He was a man of considerable talents, and some years President of the Royal Society. Ob. 1684, aged 64. There is a fine portrait of him by Lely, at Lord Lyttleton's, at Hagley. See *post*, 24th March, 1667.



work proceeds, and am pretty well pleased therewith ; especially my wife's closet will be very pretty. At noon to the Change, and there hear of some Quakers that are seized on, that would have blown up the prison in Southwarke where they are put. So to the Swan, in Old Fish Streete, where Mr. Brigden and his father-in-law, Blackbury, of whom we had bought timber in the office, but have not dealt well with us, did make me a fine dinner only to myself ; and after dinner comes in a jugler, which shewed us very pretty tricks. I seemed very pleasant, but am no friend to the man's dealings with us in the office. I went to Paul's Church Yard to my bookseller's ; and there I hear that next Sunday will be the last of a great many Presbyterian ministers in towne, who, I hear, will give up all. I pray God the issue may be good, for the discontent is great. My mind well pleased with a letter that I found at home from Mr. Coventry, expressing his satisfaction in a letter I writ last night, and sent him this morning, to be corrected by him in order to its sending down to all the Yards as a charge to them.

17th (Lord's day). Up very early, this being the last Sunday that the Presbyterians are to preach, unless they read the new Common Prayer and renounce the Covenant, and so I had a mind to hear Dr. Bates's farewell sermon ; and so walked to St. Dunstan's, where, it not being seven o'clock yet, the doors were not open ; and so I went and walked an hour in the Temple-garden, reading my vows, which it is a great

content to me to see how I am a changed man in all respects for the better, since I took them, which the God of Heaven continue to me, and make me thankful for. At eight o'clock I went, and crowded in at a back door among others, the church being half-full almost before any doors were open publicly ; which is the first time that I have done so these many years since I used to go with my father and mother, and so got into the gallery, beside the pulpit, and heard very well. His text was, "Now the God of Peace —— ;" the last Hebrews, and the 20th verse : he making a very good sermon, and very little reflections in it to any thing of the times. Besides the sermon, I was very well pleased with the sight of a fine lady that I have often seen walk in Graye's Inn Walks, and it was my chance to meet her again at the door going out, and very pretty and sprightly she is. So to Madam Turner's, and dined with her. She had heard Parson Herring take his leave ; tho' he, by reading so much of the Common Prayer as he did, hath cast himself out of the good opinion of both sides. After dinner to St. Dunstan's again ; and the church quite crowded before I came, which was just at one o'clock ; but I got into the gallery again, but stood in a crowd. He<sup>1</sup> pursued his text again very well ; and only at the conclusion told us, after this manner : "I do believe that many of you do expect that I should say something to you in reference to the time, this being the last

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bates.

time that possibly I may appear here. You know it is not my manner to speak any thing in the pulpit that is extraneous to my text and business ; yet this I shall say, that it is not my opinion, fashion, or humour that keeps me from complying with what is required of us ; but something which, after much prayer, discourse, and study yet remains unsatisfied, and commands me herein. Wherefore, if it is my unhappinesse not to receive such an illuminacion as should direct me to do otherwise, I know no reason why men should not pardon me in this world, and am confident that God will pardon me for it in the next." And so he concluded. Parson Herring read a psalme and chapters before sermon ; and one was the chapter in the Acts, where the story of Ananias and Sapphira is. And after he had done, says he, "This is just the case of England at present. God he bids us to preach, and men bid us not to preach ; and if we do, we are to be imprisoned and further punished. All that I can say to it is, that I beg your prayers, and the prayer of all good Christians, for us." This was all the exposition he made of the chapter in these very words, and no more. I was much pleased with Dr. Bates's manner of bringing in the Lord's Prayer after his owne ; thus, "In whose comprehensive words we sum up all our imperfect desires ; saying, 'Our Father,' " &c. I hear most of the Presbyters took their leaves to-day, and that the City is much dissatisfied with it. I pray God keep peace among us, and make the Bishops careful of bringing in good men in their rooms, or else all will

fly a-pieces; for bad ones will not go down with the City.

18th. Up very early, and up upon my house to see how work goes on, which do please me very well. So about seven o'clock took horse and rode to Bowe, and there staid at the King's Head, and eat a breakfast of eggs till Mr. Deane<sup>1</sup> of Woolwich came, and he and I rid into Waltham Forest, and there we saw many trees of the King's a-hewing; and he showed me the whole mystery of off square,<sup>2</sup> wherein the King is

<sup>1</sup> Anthony Deane, afterwards knighted and M. P. for Harwich; a Commissioner of the Navy, 1672.

<sup>2</sup> *Off-square* is evidently a mistake, in the shorthand MS., for *half-square*, which is explained by the following extract from W. Leybourn's "Complete Surveyor," 3rd edit., London, 1674, folio: —

"Before I proceed, I must needs detect one grand and too common an error; for most artificers, when they meet with squared timber, whose breadth and depth are unequal, they usually add the breadth and depth together, and take the half for a mean square, and so proceed. This, indeed, though it be always an error, yet it is not so great when the difference of the breadth and depth is not much; but, if the difference be great, the error is very obnoxious either to buyer or seller. I will instance in one example: —

"Let a piece of timber be 2 foot 24 parts broad, and 1 foot 30 parts deep, and 26 foot long: how many foot are contained therein?

"First for the true way: —

"1. As 1 is to 2'24 parts, the breadth, so is 1'30 parts, the depth, to 3'92 parts, the content at the end.

"2. As 1 is to 2'92, so is 26, the length, to 56'07, the content, which is 56 foot and about an inch.

"Now for the customary false way: —

The breadth of the piece is . . . . .	2'24
The depth thereof is . . . . .	1'30
Their sum is . . . . .	3'54
The half sum is . . . . .	1'77

And this 1'77 parts they take for the true square, which is egregiously false; for now come to the line of numbers, and say: —

abused in the timber that he buys, which I shall with much pleasure be able to correct. After we had been a good while in the wood, we rode to Illford, and there, while dinner was getting ready, he and I practised measuring of the tables and other things till I did understand measure of timber and board very well. So to dinner and by and by, being sent for, comes Mr. Cooper, our officer in the Forest, and did give me an account of things there, and how the country is backward to come in with their carts. While I am here, Sir W. Batten passed by in his coach, homewards from Colchester, where he had been seeing his son-in-law, Lemon, that lies a-dying, but I would take no notice of him, but let him go. By and by I rode to Barking, and there saw the place where they ship this timber for Woolwich ; and so Deane and I home again, and parted at Bowe, and I home just before a great showre of rayne, as God would have it. I find Deane

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“1. As 1 is to 1'77 parts, so is 1'77 parts to 3'13 parts.

“2. As 1 is to 3'13 parts, so is 26, the length, to 81'45 parts, that is to 81 foot and almost half a foot, whereas, by the true way, it contains but 56 foot and '07 parts. The difference in this piece being 25 foot and above one-third part of a foot, which is above half a load of timber, and timber being at 50s. or £3 per load, here is 25s. or 30s. lost by the buyer, and gained by the seller; a considerable fallacy to buy one load, and pay for above a load and a half. But if people will be deceived, let them be deceived.”

It is to be hoped that Pepys carried out his intention of putting an end to the nefarious practice of cheating the King in the purchase of timber. He speaks of it in good faith, and his term, mystery, simply implies his ignorance of the art of measuring. With regard to Sir William Warren, the case was probably different: he made large presents to Pepys, and confesses that he perjured himself before the Committee of the House of Commons in concealing the fact. Frauds in the supply of timber for the use of the Navy have been common subjects of complaint at a much later period.

a pretty able man, and able to do the King service ; but, I think, more out of envy to the rest of the officers of the yarde, of whom he complains much, than true love, more than others, to the service. He would fain seem a modest man, and yet will commend his own work and skill, and vie with other persons, especially the Petts, but I let him alone to hear all he will say.

19th. Up betimes and to see how my work goes on. Then Mr. Creed came to me, and he and I walked an houre or two till 8 o'clock in the garden. Among other things he tells me that my Lord has put me into Commission with himself and many noble-men and others for Tangier, which, if it be, is not only great honour, but may be of profit too, and I am very glad of it. By and by to sit at the office ; and Mr. Coventry did tell us of the duell between Mr. Jermyn,<sup>1</sup> nephew to my Lord St. Alban's, and Colonel Giles Rawlins,<sup>2</sup> the latter of whom is killed, and the first mortally wounded, as it is thought. They fought against Captain Thomas Howard,<sup>3</sup> my Lord Carlisle's

<sup>1</sup> He became Baron Jermyn on the death of his uncle, the Earl of St. Alban's, 1683; and died unmarried, 1703.

<sup>2</sup> See July 30, 1662, *ante*.

<sup>3</sup> "Aug. 18, 1662. Capt. Thomas Howard, the Earl of Carlisle's brother, and the Lord Dillon's son, a Colonel, met with Mr. Giles Rawlings, privy purse to the D. of York, and Mr. Jermyn, the Earl of St. Albans's nephew. . . . There had been a slight quarrel betwixt them, and as they, Rawlings and Jermyn, came from tennis, these two drew at them, and then Col. Dillon killed this Mr. Rawlings dead upon the spot. Mr. Jermyn was left for dead. This Capt. Howard was unfortunate since the return of his Majy, in killing a horse-courser man in St. Giles. Mr. Rawlings was much lamented; he lived in a very handsome state, six horses in his coach, three footmen, &c. Oct. Capt. Thomas Howard, and Lord Dillon's son, both of them fled about

brother, and another unknown ;<sup>1</sup> who, they say, had armor on that they could not be hurt, so that one of their swords went up to the hilt against it. They had horses ready, and are fled. But what is most strange, Howard sent one challenge, but they could not meet, and then another, and did meet yesterday at the old Pall Mall at St. James's, and he would not to the last tell Jermyn what the quarrel<sup>2</sup> was ; nor do any body know. The Court is much concerned in this fray, and I am glad of it ; hoping that it will cause some good laws against it. After sitting, Sir G. Carteret did tell me how he had spoke of me to my Lord Chancellor, and that if my Lord Sandwich would ask my Lord Chancellor, he should know what he had said of me to him to my advantage, of which I am very glad, and do not doubt that all things will grow better and better

the killing of Mr. Giles Rawlings ; but after a quarter of a year they came into England, and were acquitted by law." — RUGGE'S *Diurnal*. Capt. Howard afterwards married the Duchess of Richmond.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Dillon's son, apparently Charles, eldest son of James, fourth Viscount Dillon. He had served abroad, and died, unmarried, before his father. It may have been from feelings caused by this duel that one of his younger brothers, Rupert, whilst Page of Honour to Charles II., "being from his address and figure considered an object of envy, was set upon," says the pedigree, "by the other pages, and slain in the Palace Yard." — *Lodge*, iv. 189.

<sup>2</sup> Hamilton gives the following account of the duel, which arose from rivalry between Howard and Jermyn about Lady Shrewsbury : — "Jermyn prit pour second, Giles Rawlings, homme de bonne fortune, et gros joueur. Howard se servit de Dillon, adroit et brave, fort honnête homme, et par malheur intime ami de Rawlings. Dans ce combat, la fortune ne fut point pour les favoris de l'amour. Le pauvre Rawlings y fut tué tout roide, et Jermyn, percé de trois coups d'épée, fut porté chez son oncle, avec fort peu de signes de vie." — *Mém. de Grammont*.

every day for me. Dined at home alone, then to my office, and there till late at night doing business, and so home, eat a bit, and to bed.

20th. To my Lord Sandwich, whom I found in bed. Among other talk, he do tell me that he hath put me into commission with a great many great persons in the business of Tangier, which is a very great honour to me, and may be of good concernment to me. By and by comes in Mr. Coventry to us, whom my Lord tells that he is also put into the commission, and that I am there, of which he said he was glad; and did tell my Lord that I was indeed the life of this office, and much more to my commendation beyond measure. And that, whereas before he did bear me respect for his sake, he do do it now much more for my own; which is a great blessing to me. Sir G. Carteret having told me what he did yesterday concerning his speaking to my Lord Chancellor about me. So that on all hands, by God's blessing, I find myself a very rising man. By and by comes my Lord Peterborough in, with whom we talked a good while, and he is going to-morrow toward Tangier again. I perceive there is yet good hopes of peace with Guyland,<sup>1</sup> which is of great concernment to Tangier. Meeting Mr. Townsend, he would needs take me to Fleete Streete, to one Mr. Barwell, squire sadler to the King, and there we and several other Wardrobe-men dined. We had a venison pasty, and other good plain and

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<sup>1</sup> A Moorish usurper, who had put himself at the head of an army for the purpose of attacking Tangier.



handsome dishes ; the mistress of the house a pretty, well-carriaged woman, and a fine hand she hath ; and her mayde a pretty brown lass. But I do find my nature ready to run back to my old course of drinking wine and staying from my business, and yet, thank God, I was not fully contented with it, but did stay at little ease, and after dinner hastened home by water, and so to my office till late at night.

21st. Up early, and to my office. At noon, though I was invited to my uncle Fenner's to dinner to a haunch of venison I sent him yesterday, yet I did not go, but chose to go to Mr. Rawlinson's, where my uncle Wight and my aunt, and some neighbour couples were at a very good venison pasty. Hither came, after we were set down, a most pretty young lady (only her hands were not white nor handsome), which pleased me well, and I found her to be sister to Mrs. Anne Wight. We were good company, and had a very pretty dinner. But though I drank no wine to-day, yet how easily was I of my own accord stirred up to desire my aunt and this pretty lady (for it was for her that I did it) to carry them to Greenwich and see the pleasure boats. But my aunt would not go, of which since I am much glad.

22nd. About three o'clock this morning I waked with the noise of the rayne, having never in my life heard a more violent shower ; and then the catt was lockt in the chamber, and kept a great mewing, and leapt upon the bed, which made me I could not sleep a great while. Then to sleep, and about five o'clock

rose, and up to my office, and about 8 o'clock went down to Deptford, and there with Mr. Davis did look over most of his stores; by the same token in the great storehouse, while Captain Badily was talking to us, one from a trap-door above let fall unawares a coyle of cable, that it was 10,000 to one it had not broke Captain Badily's neck, it came so near him, but did him no hurt. I went on with looking and informing myself of the stores with great delight, and having done there, I took boat home again and dined. Then by water to Westminster Hall, and there I hear that old Mr. Hales<sup>1</sup> did lately die suddenly in an hour's time. Here I met with Will Bowyer, and had a promise from him of a place to stand to-morrow at his house to see the show. Thence to my Lord's, and thither sent for Mr. Creed, and then to his lodgings at Clerke's, the confectioner's, where he did give me a little banquet, and I had liked to have begged a parrot for my wife, but he hath put me in a way to get a better from Steventon, at Portsmouth.

23d. Mr. Coventry and I did walk together a great while in the Garden, where he did tell me his mind about Sir G. Carteret's having so much the command of the money, which must be removed. And indeed it is the bane of all our business. He observed to me also how Sir W. Batten begins to struggle and to look after his business. I also put him upon getting an order from the Duke for our inquiries into the Chest,

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<sup>1</sup> John Hales of Eton.

which he will see done. So we parted, and Mr. Creed by appointment being come, he and I went out together, and at an ordinary in Lumbard Streete dined together, and so walked down to the Styll Yard, and so all along Thames-street, but could not get a boat : I offered eight shillings for a boat to attend me this afternoon, and they would not, it being the day of the Queene's coming to town from Hampton Court. So we fairly walked it to White Hall, and through my Lord's lodgings we got into White Hall garden, and so to the Bowling-greene, and up to the top of the new Banqueting House there, over the Thames, which was a most pleasant place as any I could have got ; and all the show consisted chiefly in the number of boats and barges ; and two pageants, one of a King, and another of a Queene, with her Maydes of Honour sitting at her feet very prettily ; and they tell me the Queene is Sir Richard Ford's daughter. Anon came the King and Queene in a barge under a canopy with 10,000 barges and boats, I think, for we could see no water for them, nor discern the King nor Queene. And so they landed at White Hall Bridge, and the great guns on the other side went off. But that which pleased me best was, that my Lady Castlemaine stood over against us upon a piece of White Hall, where I glutted myself with looking on her. But methought it was strange to see her Lord and her upon the same place walking up and down without taking notice one of another, only at first entry he put off his hat, and she made him a very civil salute, but afterwards took

no notice one of another ; but both of them now and then would take their child, which the nurse held in her armes, and dandle it. One thing more ; there happened a scaffold below to fall, and we feared some hurt, but there was none, but she of all the great ladies only run down among the common rabble to see what hurt was done, and did take care of a child that received some little hurt, which methought was so noble. Anon there came one there booted and spurred that she talked long with. And by and by, she being in her haire, she put on his hat, which was but an ordinary one, to keep the wind off. But methinks it became her mightily, as every thing else do. The show being over, I went away, not weary with looking on her, and to my Lord's lodgings, where my brother Tom and Dr. Thomas Pepys were to speak with me. So I walked with them in the garden, and was very angry with them both for their going out of towne without my knowledge ; but they told me the business, which was to see a gentlewoman for a wife for Tom, of Mr. Cooke's providing, worth 500*l.*, of good education, her name Hobell, and lives near Banbury, demands 40*l.* per annum joynter. Tom likes her, and, they say, had a very good reception, and that Cooke hath been very serviceable therein, and that she is committed to old Mr. Young, of the Wardrobe's, tuition. After I had told them my mind about their folly in going so unadvisedly, I then begun to inquire after the business, and so did give no answer as to my opinion till I have looked farther into it by Mr. Young. By and by, as

we were walking in my Lord's walk, comes my Lord, and he and I had half an hour's private discourse about the discontent of the times, which we concluded would not come to anything of difference, though the Presbyters would be glad enough of it ; but we do not think religion will so soon cause another war. Then to his owne business. He asked my advice there, whether he should go on to purchase more land and to borrow money to pay for it, which he is willing to do, because such a bargaine as that of Mr. Buggins's, of Stukely, will not be every day to be had, and Brampton is now perfectly granted him by the King—I mean the reversion of it—after the Queene's death ; and, in the meantime, he buys it of Sir Peter Ball his present right. Then we fell to talk of Navy business, and he concludes, as I do, that he needs not put himself upon any more voyages abroad to spend money, unless a war comes ; and that by keeping his family awhile in the country, he shall be able to gather money. Here we broke off, and I bid him good night, and so with much ado, the streets being at nine o'clock at night crammed with people going home to the city, for all the borders of the river had been full of people, as the King had come, to a miracle got to the Palace Yard, and there took boat, and so to the Old Swan, and so walked home, and to bed very weary.

24th (Lord's day). Slept till 7 o'clock, which I have not a great while, but it was my weariness last night that caused it. So rose and to my office till church time, writing down my yesterday's observations,

and so to church, where I all alone, and found Will Griffin and Thomas Hewett got into the pew next to our backs, where our mayds sit, but when I came, they went out ; so forward some people are to outrun themselves. Here we had a lazy, dull sermon. So home to dinner, where my brother Tom came to me, talking about his late journey and his mistress, and for what he tells me it is like to do well. He being gone, I to church again, where Mr. Mills, making a sermon upon confession, he did endeavour to pull down auricular confession, but did set it up by his bad arguments against it, and advising people to come to him to confess their sins when they had any weight upon their consciences, as much as is possible, which did vex me to hear. So home, and walked to my uncle Wight's, the truth is, in hopes to have seen and been acquainted with the pretty lady that came along with them to dinner the other day to Mr. Rawlinson, but she is gone away. But here I staid supper, and much company there was ; among others, Dr. Burnett,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Cole the lawyer, Mr. Rawlinson, and Mr. Sutton, a brother of my aunt's, that I never saw before. Among other things they tell me that there hath been a disturbance in a church in Friday Street ; a great many young people knotting together and crying out " Porridge " <sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A physician, residing in Fenchurch Street, who died of the plague. See *postea*, August 25, 1665.

<sup>2</sup> Porridge was the nickname given by the Dissenters to the Book of Common Prayer. In the "City Heiress," Sir Anthony says to Sir Timothy, "You came from church too." Sir Timothy replies, "Ah! need must when the devil drives. I go to save my bacon, as they say, once a month; and

often and seditiously in the church, and they took the Common Prayer Book, they say, away ; and, some say, did tear it ; but it is a thing which appears to me very ominous. I pray God avert it.

25th. Up early, and away by water to Woolwich (calling in my way in Hamcreeke, where I have never been before, and there found two of the King's ships lie there without any living creature aboard, which troubled me, every thing being stole away that can be), where I staid seeing a cable of 14 inches laid, in which there was good variety. Then to Mr. Falconer's, and there eat a bit of roast meat off of the spit, and so away to the yarde, and there among other things mustered the yarde, and did things that I perceive people do begin to value me, and that I shall be able to be of command in all matters, which God be praised for. Then to Mr. Pett's, and to Deptford, and so home, where by appointment I found Mr. Coventry, Sir W. Batten, and Mr. Waith met at Sir W. Batten's, and thither I met, and so agreed upon a way of answering my Lord Treasurer's letter. Here I found Mr. Coventry had got a letter from the Duke, sent us for looking into the business of the Chest, of which I am glad. So home and to bed, my mind, God be praised, full of business, but great quiet.

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that, too, after the *porridge* is served up."—Quoted by Genest, in "Hist. of the Stage," vol. i. p. 36. The meaning of this word is fully explained in a rare contemporary tract, called "A Vindication of the Book of Common Prayer against the contumelious slanders of the Fanatic Party, *terming* it *Porridge*." An extract from this pamphlet will be found in a note to Sir Walter Scott's "Woodstock," vol. i. p. 22, edit. 1834.

27th. Dined with Sir W. Batten, his Lady being in the country. Among other stories, he told us of the Mayor of Bristoll's reading a pass with the bottom upwards; and a barber that could not read, that flung a letter in the kennel when one came to desire him to read the superscription, saying, "Do you think I stand here to read letters?" This afternoon Mrs. Hunt came to see me, and I did give her a Muske Millon. To-day my hogshead of sherry I have sold to Sir W. Batten, and am glad of my money instead of wine.

29th. Up betimes and among my workmen, finding my presence to carry on the work both to my mind and with more haste. At night, the workmen being gone, I went to my office, and among other businesses did begin to-night with Mr. Lewes to look into the nature of a purser's account, and the business of victualling, in which there is great variety; but I find I shall understand it, and be able to do service there also. So being weary and chilly, being in some fear of an ague, I went home and to bed.

30th. At noon I had news that Sir W. Pen would be in towne from Ireland, which I much wonder at, and it troubled me exceedingly what to do for a lodging, and more what to do with my goods, that are all in his house; but at last I resolved to let them lie there till Monday, and got a lodging upon Tower Hill.

31st (Lord's day). Waked early, but being in a strange house, did not rise till 7 o'clock almost, and so rose and read over my oathes, and to my office, and thence to church. News is brought me that Sir



W. Pen is come. Made my monthly accounts, and find myself worth in money about 686*l.* 19*s.* 2½*d.*, for which God be praised ; and indeed greatly I hope to thank Almighty God, who do most manifestly bless me in my endeavours to do the duties of my office, I now saving money, and my expenses being little. My wife is still in the country ; my house all in dirt ; but my work in a good forwardness, and will be much to my mind at last. In the afternoon to church, and there heard a simple sermon upon David's words, "Blessed is the man that walketh not in the way of the ungodly," &c., and the best of his sermon was the degrees of walking, standing, and sitting, showing how by steps and degrees sinners do grow in wickedness. So to Mr. Rawlinson's, and there supped with him. Our discourse of the discontents that are abroad, among, and by reason of the Presbyters. Some were clapped up to-day, and strict watch is kept in the City by the train-bands, and letters of a plot are taken. God preserve us, for all these things bode very ill.

September 1st. With Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen by coach to St. James's, this being the first day of our meeting there by the Duke's order ; but when we come, we found him going out by coach with his Duchesse, and he told us he was to go abroad with the Queene to-day (to Durdan's, it seems, to dine with my Lord Barkeley,<sup>1</sup> where I have been very merry when I was a little boy) ; so we went and staid a little

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Berkeley's seat near Epsom.

at Mr. Coventry's chamber, and I to my Lord Sandwich's, who is gone to wait upon the King and Queene to-day. And so Mr. Paget being there, Will Howe and I and he played over some things of Locke's that we used to play at sea, that pleased us three well, it being the first musique I have heard a great while, so much has my business of late taken me off from all my former delights. So to my office, but missing my key, which I had in my hand just now, makes me very angry and out of order, it being a thing that I hate in others, and more in myself, to be careless of keys, I thinking another not fit to be trusted that leaves a key behind their hole. One thing more vexes me: my wife writes me from the country that her boy plays the rogue there, and she is weary of him, and complains also of her mayde Sarah, of which I am also very sorry. Being thus out of temper, I could do little at my office, but went home and eat a bit, and so to my lodging and to bed.

2nd. To my office, and we met all the morning, and then dined at Sir W. Batten's with Sir W. Pen, and so to my office again all the afternoon, and in the evening wrote a letter to Mr. Cooke, in the country, in behalf of my brother Tom, to his mistress, it being the first of my appearing in it, and if she be as Tom sets her out, it may be well for him.

3rd. To my office, and about 8 o'clock I went over to Redriffe, and walked to Deptford, where I found Mr. Coventry and Sir W. Pen. Here we staid till noon, and by that time paid off the Breda, and then

to dinner at the *taverne*, where I have obtained that our commons is not so large as they used to be, which I am glad to see. After dinner by water to the office, and there we met and sold the *Weymouth*, *Successe*, and *Fellowship* hulkes, where pleasant to see how backward men are at first to bid; and yet when the candle is going out, how they bawl and dispute afterwards who bid the most first. And here I observed one man cunninger than the rest that was sure to bid the last man, and to carry it; and inquiring the reason, he told me that just as the flame goes out the smoke descends, which is a thing I never observed before, and by that he do know the instant when to bid last, which is very pretty. In our discourse in the boat Mr. Coventry told us how the *Fanatiques* and the *Presbyters*, that did intend to rise about this time, did choose this day as the most auspicious to them in their endeavours against monarchy: it being fatal twice to the King, and the day of Oliver's death.<sup>1</sup> But, blessed be God! all is likely to be quiet, I hope. Dr. Fairbrother tells me, what I heard confirmed since, that it was fully resolved by the King's new Council that an indulgence should be granted the *Presbyters*; but upon the Bishop of London's speech<sup>2</sup> (who is now one of the most powerful men in England with

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<sup>1</sup> Cromwell had considered the 3rd of September as the most fortunate day of his life, on account of his victories at Dunbar and Worcester. It was also remarkable for the great storm that occurred at the time of his death; and as being the day on which the Fire of London, in 1666, burnt with the greatest fury.

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert Sheldon.

the King), their minds were wholly turned. And it is said that my Lord Albemarle did oppose him most ; but that I do believe is only in appearance. He told me also that most of the Presbyters now begin to wish they had complied, now they see that no Indulgence will be granted them, which they hoped for ; and that the Bishop of London hath taken good care that places are supplied with very good and able men, which is the only thing that will keep all quiet. I took him in the tavern at Puddle docke, but neither he nor I drank any of the wine we called for, but left it, and so after discourse parted, and so by water to White Hall to my Lord's lodgings, where he being to go to Hinchinbroke to-morrow morning, I staid and fiddled with Will. Howe some new tunes very pleasant, and then my Lord came in and I had some kind talk with him, and then to bed with Mr. Moore there.

4th. By water betimes to the Tower and so home, where I shifted myself, being to dine abroad, and so being also trimmed, which is a thing I have very seldom done of late, we met and sat all the morning, and at noon we all to the Trinity House, where we treated, very dearly, I believe, the officers of the Ordnance ; where was Sir W. Compton and the Lieutenant of the Tower. We had much and good musique which was my best entertainment. Sir Wm. Compton I heard talk with great pleasure of the difference between the fleet now and in Queene Elizabeth's days ; where, in 88, she had but 36 sail great and small, in the world ; and ten rounds of powder

was their allowance at that time against the Spaniard.<sup>1</sup> After Sir W. Compton and Mr. Coventry, and some of the best of the rest were gone, I grew weary of staying with Sir Williams both, and the more for that my Lady Batten and her crew, at least half a score, came into the room, and I believe we shall pay size for it ; but 'tis very pleasant to see her in her haire under her hood, and how by little and little she would fain be a gallant ; but, Lord ! the company she keeps about her are like herself, that she may be known by them what she is.

5th. Up by break of day, and by water to Woolwich : in my way saw the yacht lately built by our virtuosoës (my Lord Brunkard and others, with the help of Commissioner Pett also) set out from Greenwich with the little Dutch bezan, to try for mastery ; and before they got to Woolwich the Dutch beat them half-a-mile (and I hear this afternoon, that, in coming home, it got above three miles) ; which all our people are glad of. Here I staid and mustered the yarde and looked into the storehouses, and so walked all alone to Greenwich, and thence by water to Deptford, and there examined some stores. So walked to Redriffe and took boat, and so to Mr. Bland's, the merchant, by invitation ; where I found all the officers of the Customs, very grave fine gentlemen, and I am very glad to know them ; viz. — Sir Job Harvy, Sir

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<sup>1</sup> See Bruce's "Reports," in 1798, on the measures adopted against the invasion of England in 1588, printed for the use of the Privy Council.

John Wolstenholme,<sup>1</sup> Sir John Jacob,<sup>2</sup> Sir Nicholas Crisp, Sir John Harrison,<sup>3</sup> and Sir John Shaw : <sup>4</sup> very good company. And among other pretty discourse, some was of Sir Jerom Bowes, Embassador from Queene Elizabeth to the Emperor of Russia ; <sup>5</sup> who, because some of the noblemen there would go up the stairs to the Emperor before him, he would not go up till the Emperor had ordered those two men to be dragged downstairs, with their heads knocking upon every stair till they were killed. And when he was come up, they demanded his sword of him before he entered the room. He told them, if they would have his sword, they should have his boots too. And so caused his boots to be pulled off, and his night-gown and night-cap and slippers to be sent for ; and made the Emperor stay till he could go in his night-dress, since he might not go as a soldier. And lastly, when the Emperor in contempt, to show his command of his subjects, did command one to leap from the window down and broke his neck in the sight of our

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<sup>1</sup> Sir John Wolstenholme; created a Baronet, 1664. An intimate friend of Lord Clarendon's; and collector outward for the Port of London. Ob. 1679.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Jacob of Bromley, Middlesex; created a Baronet, 1664, for his loyalty and zeal for the Royal Family. Ob. 1665-6.

<sup>3</sup> Of Balls, Herts.

<sup>4</sup> Sir John Shaw was created a Baronet in 1665, for his services in lending the King large sums of money during his exile. Ob. 1679-80.

<sup>5</sup> In 1583; the object of his mission being to persuade the Muscovite to a peace with John, King of Sweden. He was also employed to confirm the trade of the English with Russia; and, having incurred some personal danger, was received with favour on his return by the Queen. He died in 1616. There is a portrait of him in Lord Suffolk's collection at Charlton.

Embassador, he replied that his mistress did set more by, and did make better use of the necks of her subjects: but said that, to show what her subjects would do for her, he would, and did, fling down his gantlett before the Emperor; and challenged all the nobility there to take it up, in defence of the Emperor against his Queene: for which, at this very day, the name of Sir Jerom Bowes is famous and honoured there. I this day heard that Mr. Martin Noell<sup>1</sup> is knighted by the King, which I much wonder at; but yet he is certainly a very useful man.

6th. Lay long, that is, till 6 and past before I rose, so up and to my office. Sir John Minnes, both Sir Williams and I to the Trinity House, where we had at dinner a couple of venison pasties, of which I eat but little, being almost cloyed, having been at five pasties in three days.

7th. To White Hall Chappell, where I heard a good sermon of the Deane of Ely's,<sup>2</sup> upon returning to the old ways, and a most excellent anthem, with symphonys between, sung by Captain Cooke. Home with

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<sup>1</sup> The Council of State sitting at Whitehall, says Lilly ("Life," p. 124), had no knowledge of what was passing out of doors, until *Sir Martin Noel*, a discreet citizen, came about nine at night, and informed them thereof. From this notice, Noel has been considered as the original of the messenger who brings the news of the burning of the Rumps, so admirably related in "*Hudibras*," part iii. canto 11, l. 1497. We know nothing further about Sir Martin, except that he was a scrivener, and that Pepys records his death of the plague, in 1665. His son, of the same name, was knighted in November, 1665.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Wilford, D.D., Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, made Dean of Ely, 20th May, 1662. He died in July, 1667, being then Vice-Chancellor, and was buried in the chapel of his college.

Mr. Fox and his lady; and there dined with them. Most of our discourse was what ministers are flung out that will not conform: and the care of the Bishop of London that we are here supplied with very good men. Meeting Mr. Pierce, the chyrurgeon, he took me into Somersett House; and there carried me into the Queene-Mother's presence-chamber, where she was with our own Queene sitting on her left hand (whom I did never see before); and though she be not very charming, yet she hath a good, modest, and innocent look, which is pleasing. Here I also saw Madam Castlemaine; and, which pleased me most, Mr. Crofts,<sup>1</sup> the King's bastard, a most pretty sparke of about 15 years old, who, I perceive, do hang much upon my Lady Castlemaine, and is always with her; and, I hear, the Queenes both of them are mighty kind to him. By and by in comes the King, and anon the Duke and his Duchesse; so that, they being all together, was such a sight as I never could almost have happened to see with so much ease and leisure. They staid till it was dark, and then went away; the King and his Queene, and my Lady Castlemaine and young Crofts, in one coach and the rest in other coaches. Here were great stores of great ladies, but very few handsome. The King and Queene were very merry; and he would have made the Queene-Mother believe that his Queene was with child, and said that

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<sup>1</sup> James, son of Charles II. by Mrs. Lucy Waters; who bore the name of Crofts till he was created Duke of Monmouth in 1662, previously to his marriage with Lady Anne Scot, daughter to Francis, Earl of Buccleuch.



she said so. And the young Queene answered, "You lye;" which was the first English word that I ever heard her say: which made the King good sport; and he would have taught her to say in English, "Confess and be hanged." The company being gone I walked home with great content as I can be in for seeing the greatest rarity, and yet a little troubled that I should see them before my wife's coming home, I having made a promise that I would not, nor did I do it industriously and by design, but by chance only.

8th. With Mr. Coventry to the Duke; who, after he was out of his bed, did send for us in; and, when he was quite ready, took us into his closet, and there told us that he do intend to renew the old custom for the Admirals to have their principal officers to meet them once a-week, to give them an account what they have done that week; which I am glad of: and so the rest did tell his Royal Highness that I could do it best for the time past. And so I produced my short notes, and did give him an account of all that we have of late done; and proposed to him several things for his commands, which he did give us, and so dismissed us.

9th. At my office betimes, and at noon Mr. Coventry, Sir J. Minnes, Mr. Pett and myself by water to Deptford. At the pay of a ship, and dined together on a haunch of good venison boiled, and after dinner returned again to the office, and there met several tradesmen by our appointment to know of them their lowest rates that they will take for their several pro-

visions, for I do resolve to know that, and to buy no dearer, that so when we know the lowest rate, it shall be the Treasurer's fault, and not ours, that we pay dearer. This afternoon Sir John Minnes showed us how I have blinded all his lights, and stopped up his garden doore, which do vex me so much that I could not sleep for the thoughts of my losing the privilege of the leades and other things which in themselves are small and not worth half the trouble. The more fool am I, and I must labour against it for shame, especially I that use to preach up Epictetus's rule of τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν.

10th. Up and to my house, and there contrived a way how Sir John Minnes shall come into the leades, and yet I save part of the closet I hoped for, which, if it will not please him, I am a madman to be troubled at it. To my office, and so to my brother's. I did take occasion to talk seriously alone with Margaret,<sup>1</sup> who I find a very discreet, good woman, and tells me, upon my demand, that her master is a very good husband,<sup>2</sup> and minds his business well, but his fault is that he has not command over his two men, but they

<sup>1</sup> His brother's servant. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> That is, very frugal, or a good manager. So *husbandry*, "frugality."

"There's *husbandry* in heaven:

Their candles are all out."

SHAKESPEARE, *Macbeth*, act ii. sc. 1.

Or "management: "

"I commit into your hands

The *husbandry* and manage of my house."

*Merchant of Venice*, act iii. sc. 4. (M. B.)

do what they list, and care not for his commands, and especially on Sundays they go whither they please, and not to church, which vexes me mightily, and I am resolved to schoole him soundly for it, it being so much unlike my father, that I cannot endure it in myself or him.

11th. To my office, whither my brother Tom, whom I chid sufficiently for yesterday's work. This night Tom came to show me a civil letter sent him from his mistress. I am pleased well enough with the business.

12th. At my office all the morning, Mr. Lewis teaching me to understand the method of making up Purser's accounts, which is very needful for me and very hard. This day, by letters from my father, I hear that Captain Ferrers, who is with my Lord in the country, was at Brampton (with Mr. Creed) to see him; and that a day or two ago, being provoked to strike one of my Lord's footmen, the footman drew his sword, and hath almost cut the fingers of one of his hands off; which I am sorry for: but this is the vanity of being apt to command and strike.

13th. We sat all the morning, and met again in the afternoon to set accounts even between the King and the masters of ships hired to carry provisions to Lisbon.

14th (Lord's day). By water to White Hall, by the way hearing that the Bishop of London had given a very strict order against boats going on Sundays, and as I came back again, we were examined by the

masters of the company in another boat; but I told them who I was. To White Hall chapel, where sermon almost done, and I heard Captain Cooke's new musique. This the first day of having vialls and other instruments to play a symphony between every verse of the anthem; but the musique more full than it was the last Sunday, and very fine it is. But yet I could discern Captain Cooke to overdo his part at singing, which I never did before. Thence up into the Queene's presence, and there saw the Queene again as I did last Sunday, and some fine ladies with her; but, my troth, not many. Thence to Sir G. Carteret's, and find him to have sprained his foot and is lame, but yet hath been at chappell, and my Lady much troubled for one of her daughters that is sick. I dined with them, and a very pretty lady, their kinswoman, with them. My joy is, that I think I have good hold on Sir George and Mr. Coventry.

15th. By water with Sir Wm. Pen to White Hall; and, with much ado, was fain to walk over the piles through the bridge, while Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes were aground against the bridge, and could not in a great while get through. At White Hall we hear that the Duke of York is gone a-hunting to-day; and so we returned: they going to the Duke of Albemarle's, where I left them (after I had observed a very good picture or two there).

16th. My wife writes me from the country that she is not pleased there with my father nor mother, nor

any of her servants, and that my boy is turned a very rogue. I have 30*l.* to pay to the cavaliers: then a doubt about my being forced to leave all my business here, when I am called to the court at Brampton; and lastly, my law businesses, which vex me to my heart what I shall be able to do next terme, which is near at hand.

17th. At my office all the morning, and at noon to the Exchange, where meeting Mr. Moore and Mr. Stucky, of the Wardrobe, we to an ordinary to dinner, and after dinner Mr. Moore and I to Paul's school, to wait upon Mr. Crumlum, who we take very luckily, where there was also an old fellow student of Mr. Crumlum's, one Mr. Newell, of whom he made so much, and of me, that the truth is he with kindness did drink more than I believe he used to do, and did begin to be a little impertinent, that though I honour the man, and he do declare abundance of learning and worth, yet I confess my opinion is much lessened of him, and therefore let it be a caution to myself not to love drink, since it has such an effect upon others of greater worth in my own esteem.

18th. At noon Sir G. Carteret, Mr. Coventry, and I by invitation to dinner to Sheriff Maynell's,<sup>1</sup> the great

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<sup>1</sup> Alderman Francis Meynell was a goldsmith and banker in London, and then one of the Sheriffs. He was the third son of Godfrey Meynell, of Willington, in Derbyshire, and died in 1666; his father was buried at Langley, in that county, where their descendants still possess property. Hugo Charles Ingram Meynell, of Hoare Cross, Staffordshire, and Temple Newsome near Leeds, is the present representative of the family. Sir W. Dugdale, in his "*Diary*," mentions his having defaced the achievements which had been

money-man; he, Alderman Backewell, and much noble and brave company, with the privilege of their rare discourse, which is great content to me above all other things in the world. And after a great dinner and much discourse, we took leave. Among other discourses, speaking concerning the great charity used in Catholique countrys, Mr. Ashburnham did tell us, that this last year, there being great want of corne in Paris, and so a collection made for the poor, there was two pearles brought in, nobody knew from whom (till the Queene, seeing them, knew whose they were, but did not discover it), which were sold for 200,000 crownes.

19th. Up betimes and to my office, and at 9 o'clock I went alone to Deptford, and there went on where they left last night to pay Woolwich yarde. After dinner to pay again, and so till 9 at night, my great trouble being that I was forced to begin an ill practice of bringing down the wages of servants, for which people did curse me, which I do not love. At night, after I had eaten a cold pullet, I walked by brave moonshine, with three or four armed men to guard me to Redriffe, it being now a joy to my heart to think of the condition that I am now in, that people should of themselves provide this for me, unspoke

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hung up at Bradley, in Derbyshire, where the Alderman was interred; not, as it would seem, from any doubt as to that gentleman being entitled to bear arms, but because a London painter had been employed to blazon the shield, who had not obtained the sanction of the Heralds' Office, and thereby excited their jealousy, at a moment when their occupation was on the decline.

to. I hear this walk is dangerous to walk alone by night, and much robbery committed here.

20th. To-night my barber sent me his man to trim me, who did live in King Streete in Westminster lately, and tells me that three or four that I knew in that streete, tradesmen, are lately fallen mad, and some of them dead, and the others continue mad. They live all within a door or two one of another.

21st (Lord's day). Got up betimes and walked to St. James's, and there to Mr. Coventry, and sat an hour with him, talking of business of the office with great pleasure, and I do perceive he do speake his whole mind to me. Thence to the Parke, where by appointment I met my brother Tom and Mr. Cooke, and there spoke about Tom's business, and to good satisfaction. The Queene coming by in her coach, going to her chappell at St. James's (the first time it hath been ready for her), I crowded after her, and I got up to the room where her closet is; and there stood and saw the fine altar, ornaments, and the fryers in their habits, and the priests come in with their fine copes and many other very fine things. I heard their musique too; which may be good, but it did not appear so to me, neither as to their manner of singing, nor was it good concord to my ears, whatever the matter was. The Queene very devout: but what pleased me best was to see my dear Lady Castlemaine, who, tho' a Protestant, did wait upon the Queene to chappell. By and by, after masse was done, a fryer with his cowl did rise up and preach

a sermon in Portuguese ; which I not understanding, did go away, and to the King's chappell, but that was done ; and so up to the Queene's presence-chamber, where she and the King was expected to dine : but she staying at St. James's, they were forced to remove the things to the King's presence ; and there he dined alone, and I with Mr. Fox very finely ; but I see I must not make too much of that liberty for my honour sake only, not but that I am very well received.

22nd. Up betimes among my workmen, hastening to get things ready against my wife's coming, and so with Sir J. M., Sir W. B., and Sir W. P., by coach to St. James's, and there with the Duke. I did give him an account of all things past of late. Thence I walked to Greatorex's, and there with him did overlook many pretty things, new inventions, and have bespoke a weather glasse of him. Thence to my Lord Crew's, and dined with the servants, he having dined ; and so, after dinner, up to him, and sat an hour talking with him of publique, and my Lord's private businesses, with much content.

23rd. Sir G. Carteret told me how in most cabaretts in France they have writ upon the walls in fair letters to be read, "Dieu te regarde," as a good lesson to be in every man's mind, and have also, as in Holland, their poor's box ; in both which places at the making all contracts and bargains they give so much, which they call God's penny.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Pepys himself gives an account of this custom: see May 18, 1660, *ante*.



24th. To my Lord Crew's, and there dined alone with him, and among other things he do advise me by all means to keep my Lord Sandwich from proceeding too far in the business of Tangier. First, for that he is confident the King will not be able to find money for the building the Mole ; and next, for that it is to be done as we propose it by the reducing of the garrison ; and then either my Lord must oppose the Duke of York, who will have the Irish regiment under the command of Fitzgerald continued, or else my Lord Peterborough, who is concerned to have the English continued, and he, it seems, is gone back again merely upon my Lord Sandwich's encouragement. Thence to Mr. Wotton, the shoemaker's, and there bought a pair of boots, cost me 30s., and he told me how Bird<sup>1</sup> hath lately broke his leg, while he was fencing in "*Aglaura*,"<sup>2</sup> upon the stage, and that the new theatre of all will be ready against terme. So by water home and to my workmen, and so at night till late at my office, inditing a letter from Tom to his mistress upon his sending her a watch for a token, and so home and to supper, and to my lodgings and to bed. It is my content that by several hands to-day I hear that I have the name of good-natured man among the poor people that come to the office.

25th. This evening I sat awhile at Sir W. Batten's with Sir J. Minnes, where I did hear how the woman,

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<sup>1</sup> A mistake for Burt. See Oct. 11, 1660.

<sup>2</sup> A tragi-comedy, by Sir John Suckling.

formerly nurse to Mrs. Lemon (Sir W. Batten's daughter), her child was torn to pieces by two dogs at Walthamstow this week, and is dead, which is very strange.

27th. Up betimes. We sat all the morning, and in the afternoon I got many jobbs done to my mind, and my wife's chamber put into a good readiness against her coming, which she did at night, for Will did, by my leave to go, meet her upon the road, and at night did bring me word she was come to my brother's, by my order. So I went thither to her. Being come, I found her and her mayde and dogg very well, and herself grown a little fatter than she was. I was very well pleased to see her, only I do perceive that there has been falling out between my mother and she, and a little between my father and she; but I hope all is well again, and I perceive she likes Brampton House and seat better than ever I did myself, and tells me how my Lord hath drawn a plot of some alteracions to be made there, and hath brought it up, which I saw and like well. I perceive my Lord and Lady have been very kind to her.

28th (Lord's day). Waked early, and fell talking one with another with great pleasure of my house at Brampton and that here, and other matters. She tells me what a rogue my boy is, and strange things he has been found guilty of, which vexes me, but most of all the unquiett life that my mother makes my father and herself lead through her want of reason. At last I rose, and with Tom, to the French Church at the

Savoy, where I never was before — a pretty place it is — and there they have the Common Prayer Book read in French, and, which I never saw before, the minister do preach with his hat off, I suppose in further conformity with our Church.

29th (Michaelmas day). This day my oaths for drinking of wine and going to plays are out, and so I do resolve to take a liberty to-day, and then to fall to them again. Up and by coach to White Hall, in my way taking up Mr. Moore, and walked with him, talking a good while about business, in St. James's, and there left him, and to Mr. Coventry's, and so with him and Sir W. Pen up to the Duke, where the King came also and staid till the Duke was ready. It being Collar-day, we had no time to talk with him about any business. So we parted, and I to Tom's, and there taking up my wife, mayde, dogg, and him, did carry them home, where my wife is much pleased with my house, and so am I fully. I sent for some dinner and there dined, Mrs. Margaret Pen being by, to whom I had spoke to go along with us to a play this afternoon, and then to the King's Theatre, where we saw "Midsummer's Night's Dream," which I had never seen before, nor shall ever again, for it is the most insipid ridiculous play that ever I saw in my life. I saw, I confess, some good dancing and some handsome women, which was all my pleasure." Thence set my wife down at Madam Turner's, and having delivered Pegg Pen to her father safe, went home, where I find Mr. Deane, of Woolwich, hath sent me the

modell he had promised me ; but it so far exceeds my expectations, that I am sorry almost he should make such a present to no greater a person ; but I am exceeding glad of it, and shall study to do him a courtesy for it.

30th. I to my house to look over my workmen ; but good God ! how I do find myself by yesterday's liberty hard to be brought to follow business again, but however, I must do it, considering the great sweet and pleasure and content of mind that I have had since I did leave drink and plays, and other pleasures, and followed my business. So to my office, where we sat till noon, and then I to dinner with Sir W. Pen, and while we were at it came my wife to the office, and so I sent for her up, and after dinner we took coach and to the Duke's playhouse, where we saw "The Duchess of Malfy" <sup>1</sup> well performed, but Betterton and Ianthe to admiration. Strange to see how easily my mind do revert to its former practice of loving plays and wine ; but this night I have again bound myself to Christmas next, in which I desire God to bless me and preserve me, for under God I find it to be the best course that ever I could take to bring myself to mind my business. I have also made up this evening my monthly ballance, and find that, notwithstanding the loss of 30*l.* to be paid to the loyall and necessitous cavaliers by act of Parliament, yet I am worth about 680*l.*, for which the Lord God be praised.

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<sup>1</sup> A Tragedy, by John Webster.

My condition at present is this : — I have long been building, and my house to my great content is now almost done. My Lord Sandwich has lately been in the country, and very civil to my wife, and hath himself spent some pains in drawing a plot of some alterations in our house there, which I shall follow as I get money. As for the office, my late industry hath been such, as I am become as high in reputacion as any man there, and good hold I have of Mr. Coventry and Sir G. Carteret, which I am resolved, and it is necessary for me, to maintain by all fair means. Things are all quiett, but the King poor, and no hopes almost of his being otherwise, by which things will go to rack, especially in the Navy. The late outing of the Presbyterian clergy by their not renouncing the Covenant as the Act of Parliament commands, is the greatest piece of state now in discourse. But for ought I see they are gone out very peaceably, and the people not so much concerned therein as was expected. My brother Tom is gone out of towne this day, to make a second journey to his mistress at Banbury, of which I have good expectacions, and pray God to bless him therein. My mind, I hope, is settled to follow my business again, for I find that two days' neglect of business do give more discontent in mind than ten times the pleasure thereof can repair again, be it what it will.

October 2nd. Up and to the office, where we sat till noon, and then to dinner, and Mr. Moore came and dined with me, and after dinner to look over my

Brampton papers, which was a most necessary work, though it is not so much to my content as I could wish. I fear that it must be as it can, and not as I would. At night, hearing that there was a play at the Cockpit (and my Lord Sandwich, who came to town last night, at it), I do go thither, and by very great fortune did follow four or five gentlemen who were carried to a little private door in a wall, and so crept through a narrow place and came into one of the boxes next the King's, but so as I could not see the King or Queene, but many of the fine ladies, who yet are not really so handsome generally as I used to take them to be, but that they are finely dressed. Then we saw "The Cardinall,"<sup>1</sup> a tragedy I had never seen before, nor is there any great matter in it. The company that came in with me into the box, were all Frenchmen that could speak no English, but Lord ! what sport they made to ask a pretty lady that they got among them that understood both French and English to make her tell them what the actors said.

3rd. At my brother's and Paul's Churchyard, but bought nothing because of my oathe, though I had a great mind to it. At my office, and with my workmen till noon, and then dined with my wife upon herrings, the first I have eat this year. In the evening comes Captain Ferrers. He brought me a letter from my father, that appoints the day for the Court at Brampton to be the 13th of this month ; but I perceive he

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<sup>1</sup> A tragi-comedy by James Shirley.

has kept the letter in his pocket these three days, so that if the day had been sooner, I might have been spilt. So that it is a great folly to send letters of business by any friend that require haste. This night late I had notice that Dekins, the merchant, is dead this afternoon suddenly, for grief that his daughter, my Morena,<sup>1</sup> who has long been ill, is given over by the Doctors. For both which I am very sorry.

4th. To my office. Among other things examining the particulars of the miscarriage of the Satisfaction, sunk the other day on the Dutch coast through the negligence of the pilott.

5th (Lord's day). I to church; and this day the parson has got one to read with a surplice on. I suppose himself will take it up hereafter, for a cunning fellow he is as any of his coate. Dined with my wife, and then to talk chiefly about her learning to dance against her going next year into the country, which I am willing she shall do. Then to church to a tedious sermon.

6th. Sir W. Pen and I early to St. James's by water, where Mr. Coventry, finding the Duke in bed, and not very well, we did not stay, but to White Hall, and there took boat and down to Woolwich. In our way Mr. Coventry telling us how of late upon enquiry into the miscarriages of the Duke's family, Mr. Biggs, his steward, is found very faulty, and is turned out of his employment. Then we fell to reading of a book

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<sup>1</sup> See note, Jan. 27, 1661-62. (M. B.)

which I saw the other day at my Lord Sandwich's, intended for the late King, finely bound up, a treatise concerning the benefit the Hollanders make of our fishing, but whereas I expected great matters from it, I find it a very impertinent [book], and though some things good, yet so full of tautologies, that we were weary of it. At Woolwich we mustered the yarde, and then to the Hart to dinner, and then to the Rope-yard; thence to Deptford and wakened the officers there; so walked to Redriffe, and thence to White Hall with Mr. Coventry, and so to my Lord Sandwich's lodgings, but my Lord was not within, being at a ball this night with the King at my Lady Castlemaine's at next door. Home, and there weary went to supper, and then to my office to set down my journal of this day, and so home and to bed.

7th. To my Lord's, and there I left money for Captain Ferrers to buy me two bands. So towards the New Exchange, and there while my wife was buying things I walked up and down with Dr. Williams, talking about my law businesses.

8th. Up and by water to my Lord Sandwich's, and among other things to my extraordinary joy, he did tell me how much I was beholding to the Duke of York, who did yesterday of his own accord tell him that he did thank him for one person brought into the Navy, naming myself, and much more to my commendation, which is the greatest comfort and encouragement that ever I had in my life, and do owe it all to Mr. Coventry's goodness and ingenuity. I was glad



above measure of this. Thence to Mr. Moore, who, I hope, is better than he was, and so home and dined, and all the afternoon busy at my office, and at night by coach to my Lord's again, but he is at White Hall with the King, before whom the puppet plays I saw this summer in Covent-garden are acted this night. Hither this night my scallop,<sup>1</sup> bought and got made by Captain Ferrers' lady, is sent, and I brought it home, a very neat one. It cost me about 3*l.*, and 3*l.* more I have given him to buy me another. I do find myself much bound to go handsome, which I shall do in linen, and so the other things may be all the plainer. Here I staid playing some new tunes to parts with W. Howe, and, my Lord not coming home, I came home late on foot, my boy carrying a linke, and so eat a bit and to bed, my head full of ordering of businesses against my journey to-morrow, that there may be nothing done to my wrong in my absence.

9th. Up early about my business to get me ready for my journey. But first to the office; where we sat all the morning; and I bid them adieu for a week, having the Duke's leave got me by Mr. Coventry. To whom I did give thanks for my newes yesterday of the Duke's words to my Lord Sandwich concerning me, which he took well; and do tell me so freely his love and value of me, that my mind is now in as great a state of quiett as to my interest in the office, as I

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<sup>1</sup> A lace band. See October 12th. The word *scallop* was used till recently for a part of a lady's dress embroidered and cut to resemble a scallop shell. (M. B.)

could ever wish to be. Between one and two o'clock got on horseback at our back gate, with my man Will with me, both well-mounted on two grey horses. We got to Ware before night; and so I resolved to ride on to Puckeridge, which we did, though the way was bad, and the evening dark before we got thither, by help of company riding before us; and among others, a gentleman that took up at the same inn, the Falcon, with me, his name Mr. Brian, with whom I supped, and was very good company, and a scholar. He tells me, that it is believed the Queene is with child, for that the coaches are ordered to ride very easily through the streets.

10th. Up, and between eight and nine mounted again; but my feet so swelled with yesterday's pain, that I could not get on my boots, which vexed me to the blood, but was forced to pay 4s. for a pair of old shoes of my landlord's, and so rid in shoes to Cambridge; the way so good that I got very well thither, and set up at the Beare: and there being spied in the streete passing through the towne my cozen Angier came to me, and I must needs to his house; and there found Dr. Fairbrother, with a good dinner, a barrel of good oysters, a couple of lobsters, and wine. But, above all, telling me that this day there is a Congregation for the choise of some officers in the University, he after dinner gets me a gowne, cap, and hoode, and carries me to the Schooles, where Mr. Pepper, my brother's tutor, and this day chosen Proctor, did appoint a M. A. to lead me into the Regent

House, where I sat with them, and did vote by subscribing papers thus : “ Ego Samuel Pepys eligo Magistrum Bernardum Skelton,<sup>1</sup> (and which was more strange, my old schoolfellow and acquaintance, and who afterwards did take notice of me, and we spoke together), alterum è taxatoribus hujus Academiæ in annum sequentem.” The like I did for one Briggs, for the other Taxor, and for other officers, as the Vice-Proctor (Mr. Covell), for Mr. Pepper, and which was the gentleman that did carry me into the Regent House. This being done, and the Congregation dissolved by the Vice-Chancellor, I did with much content return to my Cozen Angier’s. Thence to Trinity Hall with Dr. John Pepys, who tells me that his brother Roger has gone out of towne to keep a Court ; and so I was forced to go to Impington, to take such advice as my old uncle and his son Claxton could give me. By and by after supper comes in, unlooked for, my cozen Roger, with whom I discoursed largely, and in short he gives me good counsel, but tells me plainly that it is my best way to study a composition with my uncle Thomas, for that law will not helpe us, and that it is but a folly to flatter ourselves, with which though much to my trouble, yet I was well satisfied, because it told me what I am to trust to, and so to bed.

11th. Up betimes, and after a little breakfast, and a very poor one, like our supper, and such as I cannot feed on, because of my she-cozen Claxton’s gouty

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<sup>1</sup> Afterwards agent in Holland for James II., who made use of him to inveigle over to England the Duke of Monmouth.

hands ; and after Roger had carried me up and down his house and orchards, to show me them, I mounted, and rode to Huntingdon, and so to Brampton ; where I found my father and two brothers, my mother and sister. I walked up and down the house and garden, and find my father's alteracions very handsome. So to dinner, where there being nothing but a poor breast of mutton, and that ill-dressed, I was much displeased, there being Mr. Cooke there, who I invited to come over with my brother thither, and for whom I was concerned to make much of. I told my father and mother of it, and so had it very well mended for the time after, as long as I staid, though I am very glad to see them live so frugally. But now to my business. I found my uncle Thomas come into the country, and do give out great words, and forewarns all our people of paying us rent, and gives out that he will invalidate the Will, it being but conditional, we paying debts and legacies, which we have not done, but I hope we shall yet go through well enough. I settled to look over papers, and then rode to Hinchinbroke (Will with me), and there to my Lady's chamber, but, it being night, staid not long, but drank a cup of ale below, and so home again, and to supper, and to bed.

12th (Lord's day). Made myself fine with Captain Ferrers' lace band, being lothe to wear my own new scallop, it is so fine ; and, after the barber had done with us, to church, where I saw most of the gentry of the parish ; among others, Mrs. Hanbury, a proper lady, and Mr. Bernard and his Lady, with her father,

my late Lord St. John,<sup>1</sup> who looks now like a very plain grave man. Mr. Wells preached a pretty good sermon, and they say he is pretty well in his witts again. So home to dinner, and then to Church again. So to supper, but my mind is so full of business that I am no company at all, and then their drink do not please me, till I did send to Goody Stanks for some of her's which is very small and fresh, with a little taste of wormewood, which ever after did please me very well. So after supper to bed, getting my brother John to go up with me for discourse sake, while I was making unready.<sup>2</sup>

13th. Up to Hinchinbroke, and there with Mr. Shepley, did look over all the house, and I do, I confess, like well of the alteracions, and do like the staircase, but there being nothing to make the outside more regular and moderne, I am not satisfied with it, but do think it to be too much to be laid out upon it. Thence he to St. Ives Market, and I to Sir Robert Bernard's for council, having a letter from my Lord

<sup>1</sup> Oliver St. John, one of Cromwell's Lords, and Chief Justice; and therefore, after the Restoration, properly called "*My late Lord.*" His third daughter, Elizabeth, by his second wife, daughter of Henry Cromwell of Upwood, Esq., uncle to the Protector, married Mr. John Bernard, who became a Baronet on the death of his father, Sir Robert, in 1666, and was M.P. for Huntingdon. Ob. 1689.

<sup>2</sup> That is, "undressing." So of the French lords leaping over the walls in their shirts:

"*Alenc.* How now, my lords! what all *unready* so?

*Bast. Unready!* ay, and glad we 'scaped so well."

SHAKESPEARE, 1 *Henry VI.*, act ii. sc. 1.

See Ben Jonson, "*Bartholomew Fair*," act i. sc. 1. (M. B.)

Sandwich to that end. He do promise to put off my uncle's admittance, if he can fairly, and upon the whole do make my case appear better to me than my cozen Roger did. Thence home, and with my father took a melancholy walk to Portholme, seeing the country-mayds milking their cows there, they being there now at grasse, and to see with what mirth they come all home together in pomp with their milke, and sometimes they have musique go before them. So back home again.

14th. Up, and did digest into a method all I could say in our defence, in case there should be occasion, for I hear he will have counsel to plead for him in the Court, and so about nine o'clock to the court at the Lordshipp where the jury was called; and there being vacancies, they would have had my father, in respect to him, to have been one of the Homage, but he thought fit to refuse it, he not knowing enough the customs of the towne. They being sworne and the charge given them, they fell to our business, finding the heire-at-law to be my uncle Thomas; but Sir Robert did tell them that he had seen how the estate was devised to my father by my uncle's will, according to the custom of the manour, proposing some difficulty about the half-acre of land which is given the heire-at-law according to custome, which did put me into great fear lest it might not be in my uncle's possession at his death. But the steward, as he promised me, did find pretensions very kindly and readily to put off their admittance, by which I find they are

much defeated, and if ever, I hope, will now listen to a treaty and agreement with us, at our meeting at London. So they took their leaves of the steward and Court, and went away. So my father and I home with great content to dinner; my mind now as full against the afternoon business, which we sat upon after dinner at the court, and did sue out a recovery, and cut off the intayle; and my brothers there, to join therein. And my father and I admitted to all the lands; he for life, and I for myself and my heirs in reversion. I did with most compleat joy of mind go from the Court with my father home, and in a quarter of an houre did get on horseback, with my brother Tom, Cooke, and Will, all mounted, and without eating or drinking, take leave of my father, mother, Pall, to whom I did give 10s., but have shown no kindness since I came, for I find her so very ill-natured that I cannot love her, and she so cruel a hypocrite that she can cry when she pleases, and John and I away, calling in at Hinchinbroke, and taking leave in three words of my Lady, and the young ladies; and so by moonlight most bravely all the way to Cambridge, with great pleasure, whither we came at about nine o'clock, and took up at the Beare.

# LIST OF PRINCIPAL MISTAKES IN FORMER EDITIONS.

PAGE	LINE	
12	4	For was . . . read <i>saw</i> .
18	24	" curious . . . " <i>envious</i> .
32	8	" wine . . . " <i>mum</i> .
33	16	" wand . . . " <i>mond</i> .
36	1	" To which . . . " <i>At last</i> .
50	4	" an hour . . . " <i>a turn</i> .
57	23	" merry . . . " <i>mere</i> .
68	27	" presently . . . " <i>pleasantly</i> .
77	1	" my aunt . . . " <i>two men</i> .
78	18	" past home . . . " <i>Portholme</i> .
93	19	" now . . . " <i>more</i> .
105	1	" but . . . " <i>man</i> .
125	12	" ranted . . . " <i>vaunted</i> .
132	2	" Hardy . . . " <i>Harvy</i> .
132	4	" high . . . " <i>good</i> .
136	3	" Paynter . . . " <i>Pargiter</i> .
139	18	" King's . . . " <i>Ringo</i> .
152	12	" 4 <sup>s</sup> . of . . . " <i>40<sup>s</sup>. to</i> .
153	16	" surveys . . . " <i>secresys</i> .
153	21	" Songs . . . " <i>Torys</i> .
154	22	" one Mr. Parker . . . " <i>of one Mr. Parker's</i> .
160	22	" have made . . . " <i>shall make</i> .
167	19	" Washeall and bowle. " <i>washeall-bowle</i> .
170	17	" Portsmouth . . . " <i>Portugall</i> .
170	24	" neck . . . " <i>nose</i> .
173	18	. . . omit " <i>half</i> ,"



*List of Principal Mistakes in Former Editions (Continued).*

PAGE	LINE		
185	19	For went . . .	read <i>sent</i> .
190	5	" day . . .	" <i>do</i> .
191	24	" upon . . .	" <i>up to</i> .
203	15	" and . . .	" <i>bade</i> .
205	1	" speed . . .	" <i>spend</i> .
207	1	" Surgeon . . .	" <i>Serjeant</i> .
212	10	" prepared . . .	" <i>repaired</i> .
215	10	" that . . .	" <i>but</i> .
215	12	" King's peace . . .	" <i>King pays</i> .
223	19	" Lord . . .	" <i>Lady</i> .
244	23	" Mistress . . .	" <i>Master</i> .
246	1	" full of . . .	" <i>fall to</i> .
246	19	" well . . .	" <i>still</i> .
250	7	" for ever . . .	" <i>however</i> .
272	15	" ships . . .	" <i>shops</i> .
274	9	" several . . .	" <i>these</i> .
277	27	" Lady (Carteret) . . .	" <i>Lady, i. e. Sandwich</i> .
280	3	" hither . . .	" <i>mother</i> .
280	28	" performed . . .	" <i>reformed</i> .
290	14	" and basins . . .	" <i>or rim</i> .
290	23	" some . . .	" <i>great</i> .
298	8	" snugly . . .	" <i>frugally</i> .
299	19	" things . . .	" <i>stories</i> .
302	1	" King of Portugall.	" <i>King to her in Portu- gall</i> .
302	4	" Lady . . .	" <i>Lord</i> .
302	26	" mention . . .	" <i>motion</i> .
303	26	" assured . . .	" <i>answered</i> .
304	8	" He (Mr. Falconer)	" <i>he, i. e. Mr. Coventry</i> .
306	5	" George . . .	" <i>Gouge</i> .
319	4	" Tylt . . .	" <i>Styll</i> .
319	20	" 1,000 . . .	" <i>10,000</i> .
325	19	" abettors . . .	" <i>letters</i> .
333	4	" made . . .	" <i>taught</i> .
339	22	" crosses . . .	" <i>cofes</i> .
341	17	" dancing	" <i>Fencing</i> .









